

THE DECLINE
OF
BRITISH PRESTIGE
IN THE EAST

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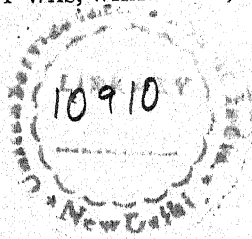
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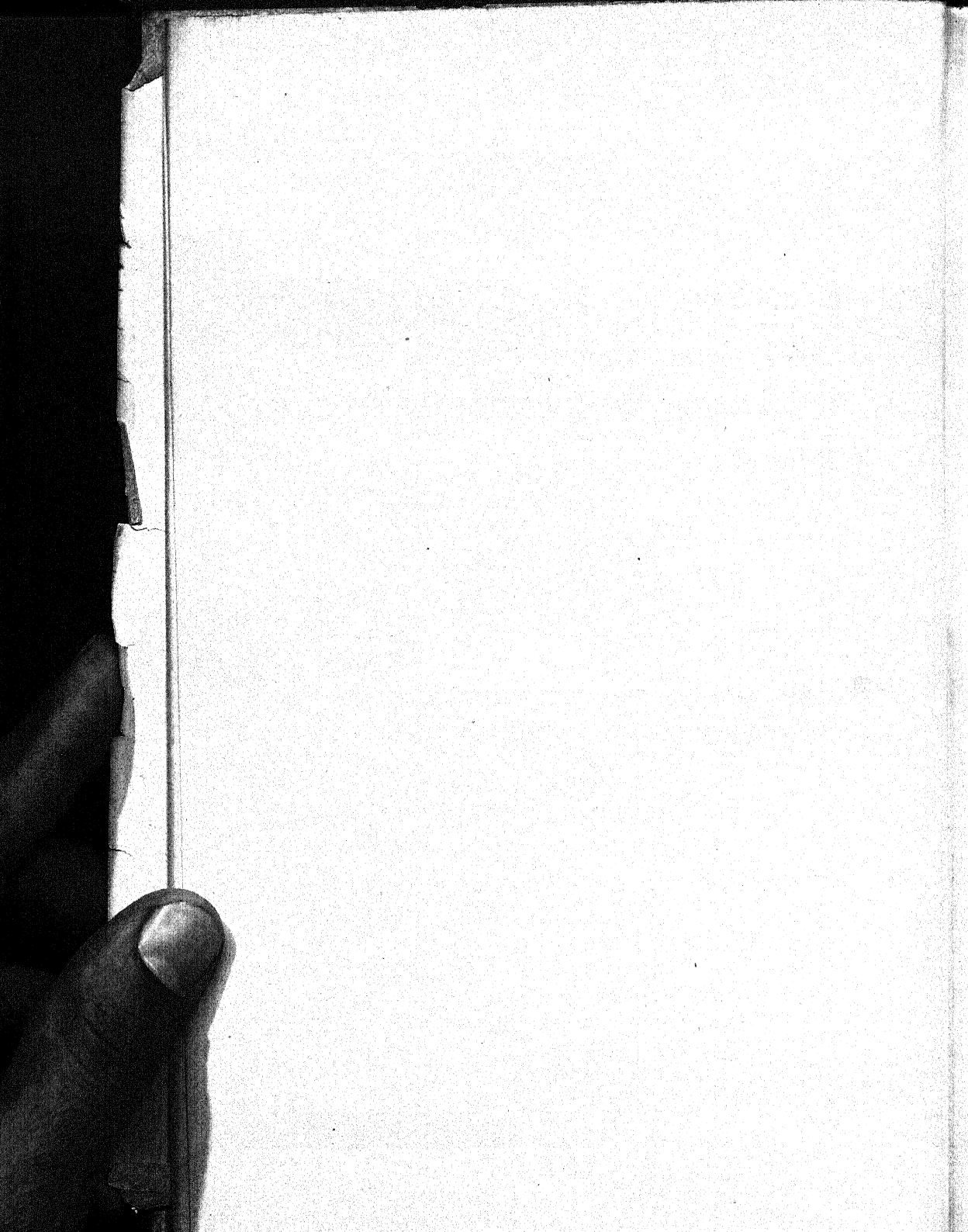
BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE KHALAFAT:
WHAT IT WAS, WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT COULD BE.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE reader who is unacquainted with the previous efforts of my pen may consider that this work is inimical to British interests in the East, but those with whom my name is familiar will, I hope, judge me otherwise. During the last ten years that I conducted the *EL-Fawaib*, that well-known Arabic journal, which was founded in 1860 by my father, Ahmed Faris Effendi, in Constantinople, the policy of that paper on all subjects relating to Central Asia has always been more in favour of England than of any other nation. The articles of the *EL-Fawaib* were not only largely reproduced in the native press in India, where they were extensively read, but also by the chief organs of public opinion in London.

In making this observation I do so merely to show that the opinions I entertained for so many years were in conformity with the views of the

Mohammedans throughout the East, who at that time fully appreciated England's conduct towards them.

England, which is the most liberal nation in Europe, has, however, in these latter days shown by its ill-considered action in Egypt that its liberty is merely for *home consumption*, and not for *export*. Those liberal ideas which she is day after day developing in England are not to be allowed even an initiative in Cairo, for not only has she abolished representative institutions in Egypt, but has also encroached on the rights of the Egyptians, not in political matters alone, but even in those of religion and administration.

It cannot be denied that a bond of reciprocal friendship existed during many years between the Ottoman Government and that of Great Britain, when England was efficiently represented in Constantinople, and when she knew how to maintain her influence, her dignity, and prestige.

It must, at the same time, be admitted that the unwise financial projects which the defunct Sultan, Abd-ul-Aziz, rashly executed in the later days of his reign, caused a just indignation in England, which was the commencement of

the change of her policy towards Turkey; but it should also be remembered that it is not only English financiers who suffered by the impolitic projects of the Porte, but the French also. Yet France has always endeavoured at Stamboul to ameliorate her relations with the Sultan, and has assumed the position which England had occupied there for so many successive years. It is no secret that Constantinople does not resemble any other great capital of Europe. The ambassadors there have quite a different duty to perform than those in Paris, Berlin, or St. Petersburg.

Stamboul will always be a centre of political intrigues, and the Turkish statesman is obliged to act towards his friends—if he has any—as well as his foes, with the utmost guardedness and tact. If he pleases England he will certainly have Russia against him, and if he pleases Russia he will as assuredly lose the goodwill of England. If Russia and Germany are on bad terms Turkey must take care to be friendly with both, lest these two Powers may settle their differences and again become friends, when Turkey will be the sufferer. One of the causes of the relations between

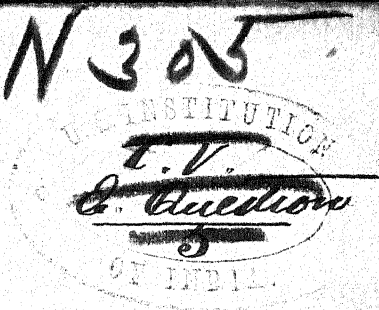
England and Turkey with regard to Egyptian affairs being so strained, is undoubtedly due to the manner in which the former Power has generally been represented at Constantinople. England has very seldom had a good diplomatist there as well as in Cairo, competent to cope with the *finesse* and tact of the Russians in Stamboul, and the French on the banks of the Nile. England appears to consider her diplomatists are to be, like poets, "born, and not made."

Whilst this work was in the press, matters of serious importance have suddenly occurred. Eyoub Khan's flight from Persia, and his promenade to the frontiers of Afghanistan, may soon bring the affairs of the East again prominently on the *tapis*. It should therefore cause England to pay more attention to the subject, and modify the attitude which it is at present adopting towards the followers of Islam.

SELIM FARIS.

LONDON, *September 1*, 1887.

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THE DECLINE OF BRITISH PRESTIGE IN THE EAST.

CHAPTER I.

THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION AND THE ENGLISH RULE IN EGYPT.

"Truly this black sister 'Soudan' has avenged her white sister 'Egypt.'" ("Gordon's Journal," p. 101.)

THE Egyptian imbroglio is just now the most important political question of the day. It is agitating England, and has caused the intervention of Europe in that autonomous province of the Sultan, where European interference or supervision exists in every branch of the administration; and it has given both to France and to Russia an opportunity of making it a question of continual vexation against England in the East, more especially at Constantinople. The actual state of Egypt is merely the consequence of the short-sighted English policy in those regions for many years past. No one in England denies the confusion that the British

Government has occasioned in that country ; on the contrary, that fact is self-evident, every official admits it in private circles ; but it has not been deemed desirable to confess it too openly. Even in Cairo the British officials and Englishmen in general do not attempt to deny the blunders which their political countrymen have made on the Nile.

But the past has not served as a lesson for the present, and both past and present will not, it seems, serve as a lesson for the future, for in Cairo the same errors are still committed as was the case from the first day of British interference. Notwithstanding all the efforts which Downing Street is making to settle the Egyptian imbroglio at Constantinople, Paris, or St. Petersburg, the grave question has not yet entered upon a state of tranquillity ; and all that the Government in London is endeavouring to do to settle it diplomatically, or I should say theoretically, and not practically, is frustrated in Egypt by another element, which, though English, is in direct opposition to the policy of Downing Street.*

* "We are an honest nation, but our diplomatists are conies (*sic*), and not *officially* honest." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 15.)

The English nation has already spent untold millions of money on this lamentable question, and such expenditure is still continuing, yet they do not know if in reality they are at the beginning of the end, or at the end of the beginning, of it.

The state of Ireland is preoccupying too much the attention of the English public, and even of their representatives in the Houses of Parliament, therefore Egyptian affairs are laid aside as if they were matters of secondary importance. Yet it is a vital question for England and its Empire in India, it is a prelude to further serious and important questions which, sooner or later, must come to the front, and the English diplomatists then only will understand their blunders, and regret their indifference upon this important subject ; but perhaps it will then be too late for them to remedy their mistakes. Events may take place in the East, more especially in Central Asia, of such moment that England will be obliged to cast off her passive policy and adopt a more active and pronounced resolution to settle the Egyptian question in a more practical way, in order to gain the sympathies of a powerful Mohammedan element

which she has so much forfeited since the bombardment of Alexandria.

It is not only this Mohammedan element which England has raised against herself to-day in the matter, she has also the jealousy and animosity of Russia and France. Russia has seized the Egyptian question as a pretext for her advance on Central Asia, on the borders of the northern provinces of India ; and France, it is well known, has become the bitterest enemy of England, whereas the friendship of that nation is most desirable for the interests of England in Eastern politics, especially as concerning the equilibrium of the Mediterranean.

The Mohammedans even now do not understand why England went to Egypt. It was, England says, to restore order, but order cannot always be restored by military measures. A nation which cannot be convinced and quieted save by bayonets and swords is a difficult nation to deal with.*

* Gordon, speaking about the fellaheens, says, with much good sense :—"The wretched peasant, with that filthy cloth which you see, is a determined warrior, who can undergo thirst and privation, who no more cares for pain or death than if he were of stone. The young fellows even have a game by which they test who will bear the lash of the hippopotamus whip best.

English diplomatists have been constantly declaring that its troops cannot evacuate the banks of the Nile until perfect order be restored there. In Egypt the European element does not believe in the maintenance of order so long as the Government of the Khedive is not respected by the nation, and they declare that should the evacuation take place, they themselves will be the first to leave it.

There would be a tremendous "exodus," but is it for this that England should remain for ever in that country? There is no doubt that the evacuation of Egypt by the English troops might bring about a certain amount of disorder, but why? That is what I desire to explain.

The Government of Egypt is to-day in the hands of strangers,* who, rightly or wrongly,

They are in their own land; the pains of war are their ordinary life; and they are supported by religion of a fanatical kind, influenced by the memory of years of suffering."

* "What we state to thee is: first, that thou art a stranger in the country and to his Government, and thou art intelligent and well-informed." (Letter to General Gordon from Abd-Er-Rahmane, En-Nejoumi, and Abd Allah En-Noor, Sept. 12, 1884.)

"My weakness is that of being foreign and a Christian, and peaceful; and it is only by sending Zubeir that prejudice can be moved." (General Gordon to Sir E. Baring, Khartoum, March 4, 1884.)—Blue Book, Egypt, No. 12.

the Egyptians, and I may say the Mohammedans in general, consider as their enemy. I refer to the Armenian element. I regret to say it, but it is a fact, although I must acknowledge that the Armenians in general, as a nation, have always been most faithful and loyal subjects of the Sultan and his Government. In return for their fidelity, the Ottoman Government has acted towards them in a most generous spirit. Their children are admitted gratis into all the High Civil Colleges of the Empire; and the greatest honours that can be awarded are bestowed upon them. The actual Minister of the Civil List, Agob Pacha, is an Armenian, and is a Moushir (Marshal). This is an example of the peculiarly favourable consideration shown by the Sovereign to that obedient race. Other Armenians also hold posts of the highest distinction in civil and political circles of Turkey, but their actions are of course subject to control. They are not Ministers with full power to act, they are functionaries, and although sometimes high functionaries, they receive orders and give advice, which the Ministers invariably take into consideration when recognised to be sound and beneficial; in a word, they work harmoniously

with the Turkish element. They do not ostensibly appear before the Mohammedans as the originators of certain projects, although in some cases the Minister may be carrying out the views of his subordinate, who is sometimes his Under-Secretary of State, and who may be an Armenian. The Armenians in Turkey know the Turkish language thoroughly, in fact, it is almost their own, and they are fused in certain ideas, views, and mode of living with the Turks. In Turkey the Armenian element is in no way authorised to meddle with Turkish affairs of a purely religious character, and certainly no Armenian of the least importance would protest, when I say that it would be the most injudicious policy for the non-Mohammedan element in the Ottoman Empire to interfere in the religious affairs of the Turks. The Turkish Government itself has given all the non-Mohammedan classes, whether its subjects or foreigners, extensive liberty for the *administration* of their public creed—a liberty which you would not find in any other country of Europe. Each community has its own schools, its own churches, and a special committee to manage the property belonging to them. They are allowed to

manage their own affairs by their own people, according to their own views and wishes, to name committees, to make laws; in short, the Government has merely to see that those committees do not exceed the limits of their duties, or make them a cloak for political intrigues.

It is this generous policy which has caused the different non-Mohammedan elements in Constantinople to live in harmony and on the most cordial terms with the authorities. There are, of course, a few exceptions. Certain bodies may desire more liberty than they possess, and more than they should have, but this is a feeling common to all nations. Since the Moldavians and Wallachians have been united and constituted into a Roumania, and since they refused a Governor from Constantinople—preferring an independent ruler to their former autonomous state—and have had a king; since the Servians also have had a crown like their brothers the Roumanians; and the Bulgarians have had their prince—an Armenian element, although an element with very little importance, has arisen, dreaming also of a separate kingdom for itself.

This class of Armenians imagine that they

are a nation quite as capable of governing themselves as are the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Roumanians.

The fact must not be overlooked that these crowns, which rest so "uneasy on the heads of those that wear them," will cause those created nationalities soon to disappear from the map of Europe, and become incorporated with some of the great neighbouring races. Some short-sighted Armenians will not look to the present disturbed Slavonic States, where the uneasiness is caused merely by their being separated from their Suzerain power. Unfortunately, it was the dream of Egypt to possess a crown which has nearly snatched away that vast and important province from the Ottoman Suzerainty, and placed the country in much the same position as one of the Balkan States—a centre of foreign intrigue—to the detriment of its quiet and peaceable inhabitants. The policy of England in Egypt has, despite of official utterances and after-dinner speeches, been disastrous to all parties—disastrous to the Egyptians, disastrous to Turkey, and disastrous to the best interests of the British Empire. Disastrous to Egypt, because the Egyptians are

governed by different foreign elements who have crushed their independence, their "Home Rule," ill-treated them, interfered with their creed, and, finally, deprived them of their rights : disastrous to Turkey, for it has weakened that chord of harmonious relations which is necessary to exist between Cairo and Constantinople ; and that foreign element has been, and is still, endeavouring to annihilate in Egypt all that is Turkish, to alienate even the Turkish language from the public schools, to create a revolution in the public feelings of all Turkish or Philo-Turkish statesmen. It has been disastrous to England, because it has cost her vast sums of money, or, as Lord Salisbury said, "that the blood and the treasure of Englishmen were poured out like water on the banks of the Nile ;" it has caused her anxiety, brought against her foreign intervention, set Turkey, Russia, and France against her, and shaken her prestige in the East. England, as a great Mohammedan power in India, is regarded to-day, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of Islam as the destroyer of their independence—the frustrator of their faith ! She has caused a great portion of the Mohammedan element, those 160 millions of

Islam, to watch with greater interest than ever her movements in Central Asia. That is what England has gained by her short-sighted policy in Egypt! This is what Mr. Gladstone has brought upon England! Let me explain this. England has selected an Armenian as the real head of a Mohammedan Government in Egypt, a country which has on its borders millions of fanatics in a disturbed state, not one of those Armenians loyal to the Sultan, but an Armenian who emigrated from Smyrna about 40 years ago, one who is dreaming of an Armenian kingdom, who would not object to throw Egypt into the hands of anyone, if it would further the execution of this illusory dream; one who is anxious only to indulge his own passions, and execute his own plan to realise his personal ambition against the Turks. An Armenian who was one of the late Khedive's Ministers, one of the brokers for the Egyptian loans, the disaster of Egypt! A man, call him a diplomatist, call him an official, or call him anything else, who arrived penniless in Egypt, and who has amassed in the land of the Pharaohs many millions of money. The acquirement of this colossal private fortune has been proceeding during his own

short life-time, which life-time has been passed in the "service of Egypt"! that Egypt which has lately presented such a sad spectacle to Europe! that Egypt which is to-day reduced to a condition of chaos! that Egypt which is the field for European jealousies and intrigues, and might at any instant become the field for European conflict!

This is the man whom England has blindly entrusted with the fate of the 6,000,000 of Egyptians, of Mohammedans. With *carte blanche* in his hands, Nubar governs the Egyptians in his own way; at his own pleasure, he will crush anybody who will not follow his views, or who opposes his interests and plans. He stamps out the national element, interferes with all the Mohammedan laws of the country, modifies them, subjugates the Egyptians to his views, to his plans, to his ambition. He has taken from the Khedive all his authority, and represents him to be a man of no will, no power, no influence—in short, an *homme de paille*. If anyone makes an observation to him, he says that he is placed in Egypt by the will of England, and that there are in Egypt 5,000 brave English soldiers to support him. He would destroy

all national feelings and elements, and replace them by those of foreigners, and especially those of his own race. He hints at the ex-Khedive, Prince Hussein, or Prince Hassan, as his immediate successor if the actual Khedive disobeys him or frustrates his views ; and, in fact, he will govern after his own manner and according to his own pleasure.

In order to be sure of maintaining his position, he has chosen a foreign element to sit in his ministry, an element not respected in Egypt, not to say detested. Instead of having a Cabinet with eight or nine Egyptian Ministers, he has a Cabinet of three foreigners, with seven foreign Under-Secretaries of State, known as "Mustechars," or "Vekils." In former times, the Ministry which was called the Egyptian Government was composed in the following manner :—

1. The Prime Minister.
2. The Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. " " Interior.
4. " " Finance.
5. " " War.
6. " " Marine.
7. " " Public Instruction.
8. " " Public Works.

9. The Minister of "Vacouf."

Besides these nine Ministers there were also eight Under-Secretaries of State, or "Vekils." The Prime Minister might choose one portfolio, that of Foreign Affairs or Interior, besides being the President of the Council of Ministers. Nubar Pacha, the actual Prime Minister, seeing that he could not act as he thought proper in a Cabinet composed of eight Ministers as had been the invariable custom, provided a very convenient way of supporting his own position, viz., by giving two, and even three, portfolios to each Minister, and thus filling up all the appointments with three or four officials only, creatures of his own, instead of eight independent, impartial statesmen.

Nubar Pacha took possession of three portfolios, viz., the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Ministry of Justice, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs ; Moustapha Pacha Fehmi took those of the Interior, War, and Marine ; Zeki Pacha, Finance ; Abd-el-Rahman Pacha Ruschdi, Public Works and Public Instruction. The Ministry of "Vacouf" has since been suppressed, and a Director-General of the Vacoufs nominated in his place. This impor-

tant branch has been placed under the direct and personal control of the Khedive, in order to avoid the interference of the non-Mohammedan element in the affairs of that religious department, which has also under its charge the Mohammedan mosques. This act has been highly approved of by the Egyptians.

But what is more important to know is, that none of those Ministers are Egyptians. As already stated, Nubar is an Armenian of Smyrna; Moustapha Fehmi and Zeki are Algerians; Abd-El-Rahman Ruschdi is by both parents a Maltese. The following functionaries are the Under-Secretaries of State, or "Vekils," and, as will be seen, none of them are Mohammedans or Egyptians, with one exception :—

Mahmoud Pacha Hamdi (Egyptian) the Vekil of the Interior.
Tigrane Pacha (Armenian) the Vekil of Foreign Affairs, (who
is the nephew and son-in-law of Nubar Pacha).

Boutrous Pacha Ghali (Copt), the Vekil of Justice.

Colonel Moncrieff (Englishman) „ „ Public Works.

Blum Pacha (Hungarian) „ „ Finance.

Yacoub Pacha Artin (Armenian), „ „ Public Instruction.

English Officer „ „ War.

None „ „ Marine.

As is seen, the predominating element is the Armenian, and the Egyptian element is the least represented. Only one Egyptian figures

there, viz., Mahmoud Pacha, the Under-Secretary of State for the Interior, and he only retains that post because he is a relative of Riaz Pacha. Surely it is not a question of economy as regards the salaries of two or three Ministers that has kept Nubar from forming a complete Cabinet! No! it is because with six or seven colleagues he would encounter a strong opposition, and his financial and administrative action might be controlled, whilst with three men, an *homme de paille*, an *homme de carton*, and an *homme de bois* (three puppets in his hands), he can do whatever he chooses : he *reigns and he governs*.

The English, I should say the Egyptian, Treasury have expended such vast sums of money on ill-considered and illusory projects which have yielded no return, but have fruitlessly crippled the resources of the country. It is, therefore, not for the sake of the financial economy of a few hundred pounds a month that the affairs of the Egyptians are concentrated in three or four hands. In all the other different branches of the Government, in the War Department, Finance, Police, Public Works, the Railway Department, &c., the European

element predominates, whilst the Egyptian element is daily on the decrease.*

Let us take as an example the railway administration, one of the most important

* The following list will give an idea of the foreigners employed in the different departments of the Egyptian Government, according to their nationalities :—

French ...	...	...	...	...	...	320
English ...	...	...	...	...	...	438
Italian ...	...	...	...	...	...	510
German ...	...	...	...	...	...	42
Greek ...	...	...	...	...	...	115
Roumanians ...	...	...	...	...	...	} 7
Servians ...	...	...	...	...	...
Montenegrins ...	...	...	...	...	...
Austro-Hungarian ...	...	...	...	...	...	153
Spanish ...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Swedish ...	...	...	...	...	...	} 6
Norwegian ...	...	...	...	...	...
Swiss ...	...	...	...	...	...	25
Russian ...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Persian ...	...	...	...	...	...	5
American ...	...	...	...	...	...	7
Belgian ...	...	...	...	...	...	18
Dutch ...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Danish ...	...	...	...	...	...	2
						1,671

Thus there are 1,671 foreign employes in such a small International Government called to-day "Egypt," and England has not been able to remedy this state of things.

The salaries and expenses of foreign officials in Egypt four years ago amounted to £350,000 a year; they amount now to nearly half a million sterling. (Debate in Parliament, August 22, 1887.)

departments of Egypt. Railways built on Egyptian soil with Egyptian money, the income of which goes to the bondholders, everyone in this department has a right to control. For that object it was decided that each interested party should have a director to defend the interests of the country he represented. The English, as creditors, have an English director ; the French, as creditors also, have likewise a director. The Egyptians were entitled to have one to defend the rights of their Government, and more especially those of the Egyptian employés of that vast administration. The appointment of English director was originally conferred on Mr. Lemesurer, and is now held by Halton Bey ; the French appointment was conferred on M. Tiermerman ; the Egyptian on a certain Riza Pacha, an Egyptian functionary of high standing, who had been educated in France, was a clever engineer, and had occupied positions of the highest class during thirty-eight years of continual loyal services. He was the principal Master of the Ceremonies during the reign of the late Khedive. Between Nubar and Riza questions of a serious nature arose. Nubar recommended contractors whom Riza

refused to accept. Dissensions began between the two functionaries. Nubar found in Riza a great obstacle; he determined therefore to remove him, and replace him by some one more pliable and less averse to the plans and wishes of His Excellency. Something must be done, and some excuse found to supersede that obstructive Egyptian!

Riza Pacha had at that time a law-suit before the Egyptian tribunals. One day he received a summons through the "process server" to appear before the Court. It seems he offended this officer, who made use of disrespectful language to him. It should be observed here that a "process server" in Egypt cannot be compared with the same official in England, France, or any other civilised country. In Cairo that officer is something like a servant, with a salary of eighteenpence a day, and he obeys any orders given to him by his chiefs. This so-called officer having insulted the Pacha in his own house, he immediately ordered him to leave it. This was sufficient to place the Egyptian Pacha in a trap. There is no doubt that if told by his chief to pick a quarrel with this or that person this officer would do so, not

only from the fear of losing his emolument, but with the hope of being promoted to two or three shillings a day.

The legal authorities in Cairo found it sufficient to bring an action against Riza. Nubar Pacha is himself the Minister of Justice! No tribunal in Egypt, the mixed tribunal (the International) of course excepted, would dare to disobey him or his factotum, Boutrous Ghali; and Riza was an inconvenient element in the railway administration. The tribunal immediately conveniently discovered an Article to condemn him to six months' imprisonment, and he was sent to a prison devoid of all sanitary necessities.

In Egypt this affair created a great sensation in Mohammedan circles, for it was absolutely without a precedent. Influential Mohammedans had to call the attention of the Khedive to such "impolitic irregularities," and to the religious and national antagonism between parties. Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, the Ottoman Commissioner in Cairo, could not of course make official representation on this delicate subject, but he expressed to the Khedive his private and friendly advice. The Khedive had

to interfere, and obtained the release of the Pacha from prison. Public opinion in Egypt, indignant at the influence of parties above the law, expected that Riza Pacha would be reinstated in his post, or that at least another Egyptian would be appointed in his place as the Egyptian director of the railways; but instead of that, an Armenian, formerly a servant of Nubar Pacha, and now Takwor Agopian Pacha, took his place! This is the same Armenian with whom it was stated in a telegram from Cairo some weeks ago that two Englishmen had quarrelled, but no further details have as yet transpired in the London press about this matter. The object of Nubar Pacha was obtained, another valuable Egyptian functionary was out of office, another *homme de paille*, and this time an Armenian also was in his place. The satisfaction of Nubar was complete, but the affliction of the Egyptians was complete also. It was a question not only between functions and functionaries, but also a question between rival parties; rivalry and antagonism between the national and foreign elements. Takwor was gazetted in the official paper as "The Egyptian Director of the Rail-

way Department." It is worthy of note that Takwor is not only an Armenian by birth, but is also a German-protected subject, and he is regularly registered in the German Consulate; that is to say, that in the event of his committing any "irregularities," neither the local tribunals, the Egyptian authorities—if any Egyptian authority exists—nor, in fact, can any of the Egyptian laws be enforced against him; he is protected by the German flag. He does not conceal this honour and advantage; it was on that condition he accepted this important post. And yet this was done in a country which is under the control of English diplomats!

During the extraordinary investigation against Riza Pacha, another affair of a more serious nature happened to be before the public. Abd-le-Kader Pacha, then a member of the Egyptian Cabinet, the Minister of the Interior and of War and Marine, "the man of three portfolios," had purchased from the Government an immense quantity of good, well-irrigated land, which at that time it was selling. Instead of putting it up to auction in a regular manner, for the benefit of the Treasury, it was sold in

such a way that the public knew nothing of the sale. It did not transpire until some time after that the property was sold, that the fortunate purchaser was the Minister of the Interior himself!

It was soon discovered that amongst the land purchased by him was a magnificent farm, comprising no less than 3,000 acres of well-irrigated and highly-cultivated land, sold at the miserable price of 40 piastres (about 8s.) per acre, whilst a few days after the Minister had bought the property he let it, and received no less than 100 piastres, or 20s. per acre, for its yearly rental. Ground purchased for 8s. and let for 20s. per acre the first year, is not a bad speculation, especially for a Minister who draws a salary of more than £250 a month from a poor country like Egypt! When the public were first made acquainted with these facts, they were of course indignant, and complaints were immediately made against the Pacha to Nubar, the so-called "Egyptian Prime Minister," but unfortunately, of course, without result. It is also a notorious fact that the Government of "Nubar & Co." a few years ago distributed some hundreds of thousands of

acres of Government land, under the pretext that they were not irrigated, and that by allotting them to the country (to the fellahs, of course) both the people and the Government would largely benefit, as the Government would make a new canal which would irrigate these lands. The project in itself was good, had the original object of the distribution been effected in an equitable and just manner ; that is to say, had the lands in question been distributed amongst the poor fellaheen, and not to rich Ministers. But unfortunately that was not the case, for hardly had the Khedive signed the decree authorising the distribution of the said land than the list was closed to the public, who therefore were allowed to know little or nothing about the matter. Some 300,000 acres of land were thus distributed to the Ministers and their personal friends. Sheikh-el-Marghany, who was lately in London at the Jubilee fêtes, was amongst the fortunate friends of Nubar, and got for his share alone, in return for his friendship, 10,000 acres, as it is this day registered in the books of the Irrigation Department at the Ministry of Public Works. Now that this vast amount of territory has passed into the possession of these few

Ministers and their friends, the Government proposes to spend some £300,000 in cutting a canal through that uncultivated land, and the Government—Nubar, of course—intends to name it “Canal Nubaria,” as a souvenir of the services which the Armenian Minister has rendered to Egypt and the Egyptians.

The favoured purchasers of that uncultivated territory should be grateful to Nubar for spending £300,000 of Government money to increase the value of their advantageous purchases! Abd-el-Kader Pacha, the Minister of the Interior, also obtained 30,000 acres of these unirrigated lands, 10,000 for himself and the rest for his friends. I only mention this to show that when this Minister had purchased from the Government 3,000 acres of land, at 8s. per acre, Nubar of course could not pass judgment on him, as he did on Riza Pacha.

But things became serious; it was talked of in all circles in Cairo, and an Arabic paper at Alexandria, called *El-Mahroussa*, gave all the details of this scandalous speculation. It was impossible to punish that journal, as it was under French protection, and the “Bosphore Egyptian” question must have given Nubar a good lesson

how to treat the press, but the general public opinion in Egypt was greatly incensed. The other members of this clique were not, of course, disposed to bring the matter before the Courts. Abd-el Kader was advised to retire, and accordingly he gave in his resignation, in order to quiet public opinion, or, as the Egyptians say, "to cut the tongue of the people." This took place in March last year. Abd-el-Kader discreetly retired to his rich and beautiful estate, having, as has been stated, tendered his resignation to the Khedive; and thus this farce ended. Doubtless any other Egyptian, not being a friend of Nubar Pacha, such as Riza Pacha, and many others, would have been brought before the law and punished, under pretence of giving a lesson to the Egyptians, and in order that no such case should again occur in Egypt. But to Abd-el-Kader all was pardonable, and the case was smoothed over. Most probably this incident also is still ignored by the Foreign Office, and by those honourable members of Parliament who have heartily taken part in the defence of Egypt.

Nubar Pacha has no wish that the English should know what Abd-el-Kader was, and what

he is ; but if the English diplomatists are curious to know all about him, they can refer to Gordon Pacha, for although the Hero of Khartoum is no longer alive, his words are still in existence.

In "General Gordon's Journal," page 205, the English General's opinion of the late Minister of the Interior of Egypt, in whose hands were the interests of so many millions, will be found in these words :—

"By these papers, miraculously secured, I see we have made Minister of Interior, Abd-el-Kader Pacha ; according to all accounts up here, he is *Abd-el-Kader* and the forty thieves *in one*."

After what such an authority has said concerning the late Minister of the Interior, I think it superfluous for me to add any other comment on the subject ; but I must also say it is matter for deep regret to see such "irregularities"—the title given by diplomatists to such acts—committed by a Minister in Cairo protected by Downing Street.

To return, however, to Takwor Pacha, let us see what was the result of this appointment. Reforms were necessary in the Railway Department. The Egyptian railways were in a state of utter confusion, £150,000 were most urgently

required to be spent on them, lest the bondholders in London should trouble Downing Street ; so reforms must be effected, but how to begin them ? By dismissing a number of functionaries.

Halton Bey, the English manager, distinctly declared to the Khedive in person, that he would not allow any of his countrymen to be turned out of office. M. Tiermerman, imitating the national sentiments of his colleague, made the same declaration, viz., that no French subjects should be interfered with. What was to be done ? Reforms must be made. There was no one to defend the rights of the poor Egyptians. The Armeno-German member cared little for the fate of the people whose bread he was eating, whose blood he was sucking, and a batch, a whole batch of seventy of these unfortunate employés was turned out in one single day.

I should like to know if English diplomatists imagine whether such a policy created a good or a bad impression on the Mohammedans in Egypt ? The discharge of these seventy employés took place on the 15th of April in this year, and 130 more Egyptians had already

received dismissal during the months of January, February, and March, making in all 200 Egyptians who had been discharged from the Egyptian railway administration within four months.

The foreigners in the offices of the Egyptian railways number 192 functionaries, arranged, according to nationality, in the following order :—

103 Englishmen.

49 Frenchmen.

16 Austrians.

13 Italians.

4 Germans, including Takwor Pacha, the
“Egyptian Administrator.”

1 Spaniard.

1 Dutchman.

On referring to the Blue Book, the reader will find it stated that Takwor Pacha is a “native,” and that Nubar is also another “native.”

Sir Evelyn Baring, writing one day to Lord Salisbury about the nomination of a Syrian as the Director of the Egyptian Post Offices, expresses pleasure that an Egyptian had been appointed at the head of that Department.

Lord Salisbury endorses such statement (he could not do otherwise), and compliments Egypt on such *progress*. The Egyptians could not but be astonished to see that the British officials in Cairo or London were unable yet to distinguish between a native and a foreigner. It would seem that anyone who lives in Egypt for a certain time must *ipse facto* become a native.

The Postmaster in Cairo, to whom Sir E. Baring alludes, is a Christian Syrian, and not an Egyptian by birth or relationship. I do not mean to criticise the important appointment which this functionary has obtained; on the contrary, his nomination was highly approved of, not only by the public generally, but in official circles also; but what it is my wish to convey is, that the predominating element in Egypt is not Egyptian, and that whenever a foreigner obtains a post he is immediately reported at Downing Street to be an "Egyptian," and Downing Street endorses such statement.

Suppose an American comes to London from New York. Because he knows English and remains in London a few years, will the English

call him an Englishman ? or will he always be considered an American ?

Egyptians alone are Egyptians, and how is it that the Armenians are to-day called in the Blue Book "Egyptians" and "natives" ? I cannot understand this, and it would be most important to explain it to the Egyptians. Such a state of things in a country like Egypt could only create bad feeling amongst its natives, which must have its effect on other circles in the Mohammedan world, and especially in Constantinople.

The French have shown much more tact in Tunis than the English in Cairo, for although they have more or less annexed that country they have not dismissed the actual Prime Minister, Esseid-el-Aziz-bou-Attour. They left him in his post, though he is but an *homme de paille*, but as a Mohammedan and a Tunisian they can, through him, effect greater reforms than they could have done had they an European Christian or an Armenian as their Prime Minister. If he cannot oppose reforms *à la Française* in Tunis, he sees at least that in no way does the French authority interfere with the religious feelings of the masses.

He sees that although the governing element will hold the principal appointments, yet, after the French, the Tunisians will have preference over all older foreign elements.

When the French went to Tunis, they found the laws of the country in the same state in which they had remained for ages before. The Bey goes twice a week to his "Throne-room," in order to administer justice to his subjects, Mohammedans and Jews. A high official, called the "Bach Haamba," announces at the door of the palace that the Sovereign is going to sit on the throne to administer justice to his faithful subjects—an official announces his decision in a loud voice to the public. The Bey then goes to the "Throne-room," accompanied by his Ministers, with great pomp. The princes, members of the Bey's family, ministers, high officials, all stand in a row right and left, and the Bey is seated on a beautiful throne of red velvet, embroidered with gold. The judges, the "Cadis and Mouftis," alone are permitted to sit, on red velvet sofas. The people then approach their Sovereign. They are allowed to come within a distance of ten to twelve yards of him.

They begin by addressing the Bey in the following terms :—

“May God Almighty protect our Lord ; grant him victory over his enemies. Oh, ye just Sovereign ! ye King of Kings ! I come here from ————— to ask that the law of Mahomet, our Prophet—blessings be upon Him !—be executed.”

Then he begins to complain to his Sovereign that he had a cow, and that X (who is present) stole it from him. The Bey calls the alleged thief, who begins by making the same prayer. The Bey then puts a few questions, and when he cannot solve the matter himself, asks the opinion of the judges who are present at his side ; the case is then either decided at once or sent before the Cadi, and so in two or three hours the Bey settles some two hundred cases. The French have respected this institution, and the Bey still governs in this manner. When, in 1861, Mohammed Es-Sadok, the late Bey, wanted to introduce reforms, and created tribunals on the European system and principles, the Arabs revolted, and it took the Government two years to re-establish order in the Regency. The Arabs would not hear of these new “tribunals.” “A man,” they said, “steals my cow worth £10, and I must spend half that sum for a lawyer ; then I lose three

months in court, and spend more than £10 in town for my expenses, even if I gain the case, and perhaps I may lose it. That will not do! I will go to my Sovereign, and he will decide in an hour or two, a day or two, or, at the longest, in a week or two, whether the cow is mine or not, without costing me one farthing." The Bey is, therefore, a sort of *Juge de Paix*. In Morocco, in Zanzibar, amongst the Emirs of Njed, it is the sovereigns of those countries who administer justice to their subjects. I only mention this to show that France has acted wisely in leaving the Bey and his subjects to enjoy the privileges which they have possessed for so many centuries. I do not mean to say that those laws will remain for ever, but I can say that as long as Tunis has her Bey, those laws should remain respected.

The first thing a Mohammedan of Africa will ask a Tunisian when he speaks about Tunis is this: "Does your Sovereign govern; does he render justice to his subjects?" "Yes," will be the reply. "Praise be to Almighty God!" will be the answer.

In Tunis no Cadi, no Moufti, is ever requested to visit a Minister of Justice, or his

Vekil, a Christian. These judges are independent, and highly esteemed by the authorities. In Egypt it is quite a different matter, for not only are these high judges invited to the Ministry of Justice by a Copt, but they are also invited by him to modify the privileges of the Mohammedan law which they have been enjoying for centuries.

I have already spoken of the different communities in Constantinople, of the liberty they enjoy in their religious creed, and the independence of the administration of their churches. In Egypt, Nubar has created an extra office at the Ministry of Justice, without precedent. He himself is Minister of Justice. That I can understand, on account of his relations with the different international tribunals, which is altogether in foreign hands; but what is utterly incomprehensible is, that the Vekil of the Ministry of Justice should be chosen from among the Christians also—a Copt; that is to say, that in such an important ministry the Mohammedan element, the element of the country, is entirely ignored. What I have said already about the Armenians, and their allegiance to their Sultan, I may also say about the

Copts and their relations with the Khedive. I may say more—they are an active race, working for the interests of their country, never creating any disturbance, never meddling with any political manoeuvres. Many of them are being educated in Europe, and many others have gained a name in Arabic literature. I have good literary friends amongst the Copts, but none of them need be offended when I say that the affairs of justice, and more especially the religious laws of the Mohammedans in the East, should not be entrusted to a non-Mohammedan. Surely, whoever expresses such an opinion should not be taxed with fanaticism, or his motives be misunderstood.

No intelligent man in Europe—in civilised Europe—would permit a non-Christian to interfere with the laws of the Christian Church!

If the Minister of Justice is a Christian, then his Vekil, or Under-Secretary of State, should be a Mohammedan, and *vice versa*; that is to say, if the Minister of Justice is an Egyptian, then his Vekil might be a Christian. This is a principle which the Sublime Porte has on certain occasions admitted, but I do not think

it prudent, political, or, above all, just, that the Minister of Justice—an Armenian, and his factotum a Copt—should be imposed on Egyptians, especially under present circumstances, for it creates ill-feeling in the country. But yet in Egypt this is actually the case.

Boutrous Pacha is doubtless an intelligent functionary ; he could render services to the governing and the governed, but he is causing bad feeling, which, sooner or later, must create difficulties of a serious nature. It was only so recently as in March last that he wished to modify the religious law of the country, to diminish the privileges of the Mohammedan Courts, the Moufti, the Cadi, and the "Mahakim Sharria" (the religious tribunals). With this object he invited the Mohammedan chief judges—the Cadi, the Moufti, and the Sheikh of the Grand Mosque of El-Azhar—to discuss under his presidency matters with which it was totally incompatible for him to interfere ; nor was it prudent for him to show such power over the High Mohammedan element. The judges refused the modifications, and the Government—or, in other words, Nubar—obliged the then "Grand Moufti," Sheikh El-Abbasy, to resign.

Yet this sheikh had been holding that position for more than forty years.

Sheikh Mohammed El-Banna was named as his successor, and a few days after his appointment he was also requested to countenance those new modifications; Nubar and his factotum, Boutrous, insisted on its being done. The agitation in Cairo amongst the Mohammedan element was great. The sheikhs addressed themselves to Ghazi Ahmed Mouktar Pacha, the Sultan's Commissioner, as the representative of the Khalife, who himself called the attention of the Khedive to this matter, informing the Sublime Porte at the same time of what was taking place. Thanks to the good sense of the Khedive, Nubar and Boutrous were obliged for the moment to suspend the execution of their so-called "reforms." But Mohammedan public opinion was seriously affected; the Mohammedans said, with good sense, "The English have interfered with all our departments—War, Marine, Public Works, Finance, and Public Instruction, &c., &c. Everywhere the European element prevails; we are turned from every office, and now the interference is beginning in our religious affairs—but this

cannot be allowed!" The Arabic press condemned such a policy, and an English paper, *The Egyptian Gazette*, the English organ in Egypt, blamed not the Egyptian Government alone, but even the British authorities for allowing such matters to be interfered with; and pointed out that whilst in India complete liberty is given to the different religious communities of that Empire, it could not understand why the English who were in Egypt allowed a different policy to be pursued.

I might add here that before Boutrous sought to introduce those modifications in the Egyptian Mohammedan laws, the high authorities in Cairo had to inquire officially of the Sublime Porte if the religious authorities at Constantinople could not aid the Egyptian Government in carrying out those intended reforms in Egypt. The Grand Vizier consulted the Shiekh El-Islam at Constantinople on this subject, and the reply was that the "High Corps of the Ulema" could not see how they could help the Egyptian Government in this case. The Grand Vizier, in communicating those views to the Khedive through Mahmoud Bey, the Kapoukahia (agent) of the Khedive at Constantinople, advised His

Highness not to raise questions which might cause bad feeling in Cairo; and the Khedive, a pious Mohammedan, greatly approved those views, but Nubar and his factotum Boutrous insisted on having their own way.

But they could not execute their plans. The shiekhs in Cairo not only condemned such changes, but they knew that the Shiekh El-Islam at Constantinople did so likewise. The consequence of this blind policy was to create a bad impression on the Mohammedans in Egypt and Constantinople. To give an idea what effect such intermeddling is likely to have upon Mohammedan populations under England's sway, I may mention that only a few weeks ago I had the privilege to be present at a dinner in London, given by Sir George Birdwood, that learned and intelligent functionary of the India Office, in honour of a high Mohammedan dignitary in India. In discussing this subject, I mentioned that the great Moufti of Cairo, the Cadi, and the great Shiekh of the El-Azhar, are obliged to go to the Ministry of Justice in Cairo, under the presidency of a Copt, to discuss religious matters! That important guest, that high dignitary of India, who happened to be on

the right of our kind host, said : " In hearing this alone, all my body trembles. England should not allow such things to take place in Egypt." Nothing gave me more satisfaction than to have my views confirmed by such a great Mohammedan authority of India, and in the presence of one of the ablest English *literati*, and an editor of a high political organ in London, who was among the guests.

I merely instance this as an example, showing how dangerous it is to give functions of so delicate a nature to foreigners, in a country where disorder of a serious character has just taken place, and where the English Government cannot withdraw its troops for fear that some fresh outbreak may again occur after their retirement. If England is really in earnest as to evacuating Egypt, it can only do so by substituting an element which should govern the country by its own people. Even should England wish to " Indianise " Egypt, I see no reason why the Egyptians could not be governed by their own countrymen. The idea that Egypt is incapable of being governed by her own people is one which has often appeared in the columns of the British press. It is thought by

some that Egypt without Nubar* cannot exist, that the Khedive is weak, and cannot govern his country without Nubar. Let Nubar govern after the English have left! That, I think, he cannot do; he can only govern so long as the red-jackets are in Egypt protecting him. If they leave, he will follow them. "If the English evacuate Egypt," said he one day, "I will not wait until after the last battalion has started; the last battalion will leave after me!" Nubar is right in arguing thus, but I do not know why England should lend its support to this argument.

The real fact is, that in the actual state of affairs in Cairo, with a foreign Minister and three puppets, no order can be guaranteed without the English troops. If they are necessary to keep the people quiet, it is because the nation will not have a foreigner, a political and religious enemy, to govern them. Let England make a trial before she leaves Egypt of a strong Egyptian element in the Cabinet, and after a few months she will see if it works beneficially

* "As for men in Cairo now pretending to govern, it is useless. They know nothing of, and have no sympathy with, the country." ("Gordon's Journal," October 3, 1884.)

or not. It is absurd to imagine that the Egyptians are courting a second bombardment at Alexandria, and another debt of £9,000,000 sterling, or another Tel-el-Kebir, or another military occupation. There may be some of the masses who in every country must be governed with a firm hand. In Egypt what is wanted is an element of "reciprocal confidence," a Minister enjoying the confidence of the public, and a public having confidence in the Ministry; and this element could be controlled by England; but Downing Street will no doubt allow this state of things in Egypt to go on until it will be too late to make the change, or, as Emin Pacha wrote from Wadelai, on July 6, 1886, to Mr. A. M. Mackay Buganda, "It is just this apathy, this *laissez-faire*, which has led to the loss of the Soudan. They have played with the fire until they have burnt their fingers."*

Many versions have been given regarding

* "Lieut.-Colonel Stewart is, however, of opinion that the military weakness of Egypt was not any real cause of the rebellion, as he believes the troops in the Soudan would have been sufficient to quell it, had they been properly handled." (Gordon's views about the Mahdi, "Journal," p. 319.)

the cause of the different disasters of the Soudan ; the defeat of Graham's troops ; the annihilation of Hick's army ; and, finally, the lamentable fall of Gordon. The secret of these series of disasters lies in the fact that those armies, although Mohammedans, were guided and commanded by Christians. They were not considered as a Mohammedan force, going to fight in the interest of Islam. On the contrary, it was considered that they were a Mohammedan army in the pay of a Christian kingdom, going to fight Islam for the benefit of the Christian element. An Indian-Mohammedan army, commanded by English officers, fighting Afghanistan may be viewed by the Ulemas of that country in the same way.

There are persons who believe that the Turks would have met with the same fate as the English in the Soudan ; but this is not the case, for it must be remembered that the army of Mohammed Aly Pacha, the first Viceroy of Egypt, was commanded by Turkish officers. Before a Turkish army would have marched to the Soudan they would have had with them a strong power, viz., the " Ulemas," who would have given a " Fetwa " that the Turkish

soldiers were going to restore order in the name of religion, and who would put themselves in direct communication with the "Ulemas" of the other side.* An agreement would have been made between the "Ulemas" of each side to avoid bloodshed, or, in the contrary event, the "Ulemas" of the Soudan would have been divided, and this division would have weakened the Mahdists so much that they could not resist those with whom they were contending. The Mohammedan world would have condemned those rebels, who, in fighting their brethren, would have exposed themselves to serious responsibilities. It is a notorious fact that the dissension which took place in Egypt amongst the Mahdists was merely caused by the proclamation which the Sublime Porte issued on September 5, 1882, denouncing Arabi Pasha as a *rebel*. The Egyptian army had an idea that Arabi was supported by the Ottoman Government, and it was only when that proclamation was published that a strong division of

* General Gordon, telegraphing from Berber to Sir E. Baring, on February 14, 1884, says: "It would be sufficient for the Padishah's troops to appear to cause a collapse of all fanatical feeling."

opinion took place in the army, as well as amongst the intellectual class of the population.* The greatest mistake, therefore, that England made was to send to the Soudan a Mohammedan army commanded by Christian officers. The Christian element ought to have been behind the curtain, and should not have appeared until all was finished.

Gordon Pacha was an honest, upright, frank, and straightforward Englishman; all his acts in Khartoum proved it; but he had one weak point against him, namely, that he was in the Soudan at all. He himself admitted this. "I am a Christian," said he, "and a foreigner; you must send a Mohammedan (Zubair), and that prejudice will be removed."

In all the correspondence which passed between Mohamed Ahmed, Abd-el-Rahman, En Nejoumi, Abd-Allah En-noor, and many others with the Hero of Khartoum, the verses of the Koran, commentaries, &c., were quoted to him. Abd-el-Kadir Ibrahim pushed this theory further. He opened the "*Keshef-el-Ghumman-Jamia El Umma*," by Shaarani,† one of

* See "The Proclamation," in the Appendix.

† Title of a book in Arabic—the "Dissipation of Gloom from all (Mohammedan) People."

the greatest authorities on Mohammedan law, and began discussing matters on that theory with the Hero of Khartoum. Gordon, of course, was unable to enter into such a controversy, as he was insufficiently acquainted with the language, he was a foreigner, and, above all, a Christian. The "Ulemas" of Khartoum became Mahdists, and Khartoum succumbed to its fate.

The same argument may be applied to Egypt. Although Riaz Pacha has always refused to take office so long as the English troops are in the country, he may yet consent to do so notwithstanding, if he is requested through an element to which he would not refuse to accede. Riaz might take office if he knew the Convention was a serious fact, and that the English really meant to evacuate the country; he would point out for them an honourable means of withdrawal, compatible with their *amour propre* and their own interest, and he would establish an entirely new order of things under which Egypt could be safely left to itself. He would not refuse to do this under the circumstances, for if he did so, he would lose the popularity he has gained since he retired from his official responsi-

bilities. Riaz is not the only native Minister who enjoys public esteem and confidence; Fakhri Pacha was a good Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Haidar Pacha a good Minister of Finance. These two Pachas are very popular with both the national and foreign elements. The actual Governor of Alexandria, Osman Pacha Orphi, is also a man of great energy and ability, and a good linguist. He was, on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee, gazetted a Companion of the Order of the Bath, which is a proof of the acknowledgment of his services by England. He is an Egyptian *pur sang*; he was brought up in London, and speaks English most fluently, and he has political and administrative abilities of a high order. The English, perhaps, are not thoroughly satisfied with him, although he has been named a C.B. They do not find him English enough, and the Egyptians find him too English. The fact is that Osman Pacha Orphi is an energetic Egyptian, and a far more capable and popular man than anyone in the actual Ministry. Riaz, when in office, was at one time in the same position as Orphi is to-day. The English were not content with him; they, too, thought that he was not English

enough, and the Egyptians said he was a tool in their hands. It was only when he gave in his resignation and retired to his farm, and Nubar took the reins into his own hands, that they perceived their error, and that Riaz was, after all, an Egyptian, and was working for the interests of his country. There are also in Egypt many intelligent functionaries who have been educated in London, and speak fluent English, who have occupied respectable positions in the country during twenty years, but who are now thrust aside and placed on the retired list. Surely these intelligent men could render valuable service to the country !

There are able men in Egypt who would do much more than the three puppets in whose hands the destiny of the country is to-day confined ! Why do they not give the Egyptians a trial, to see if they can govern their own country or not ? If the experiment be a failure, then find some other way. Let them appoint an Indian, a high Mohammedan official, to be a member of the Egyptian Ministry. There are many Mohammedans in India, such as Seid Ahmed Khan Bahadur, who know Arabic, and could help to govern the country with integrity for the

benefit of both the Egyptians and of England. Instead of bringing into Egypt men from London, ignorant of the language, the manners and customs of the people, they should have sent some Mohammedans from India ; and yet, as far as I am aware, not one Mohammedan Indian has been sent to Egypt. What is more astonishing and stupefying is, that in the British Agency at Cairo there is no one who can speak a word in the Arabic language, to say nothing of one capable to read or write it—that would be expecting too much ! If an Arab of high distinction presents himself at the Agency, Sir Evelyn Baring cannot converse with him, he must get the interpreter from the Military Staff Quarters, and fix a day (if time permits) for an interview ; then the British representative can speak to his guest. Whereas in Tunis, France has Frenchmen at the Residency who know Arabic very well, yet they have Tunisian interpreters, I mean Mohammedans, there, who may be, under certain circumstances, the only medium of communication between the visitor, when he is a distinguished Arab, and the French Resident Minister.

I can easily conceive that the British policy

in the Egyptian question is to a certain extent a financial one, or, at least, that political circles in London are to a certain extent under a moral pressure from the high financial world. These latter fear that the Egyptian Government may again cause certain uneasiness as to the rights of the bondholders, although Egypt is paying four millions and a half sterling, from a revenue of less than ten.

The following figures represent the interest of the Egyptian debts, as shown in Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's report to Lord Salisbury, dated June 17, 1887:—

					Egyptian Pounds.
Guaranteed Loan	...	...	...	...	307,125
Privileged	„	...	...	...	1,086,967
Unified	„	...	...	...	2,183,627
Domains	„	...	...	...	352,000
Daira Saineh Loans	...	...	...	...	336,720
Interest of Suez Canal paid to England	...	...	...	...	192,858

Total in Egyptian Pounds ... 4,460,299

(The Egyptian pound is equal in value to about one pound and sixpence of English money.*)

* The total debt of Egypt at the end of 1886 stood as follows:—

					Egyptian Pounds.
Guaranteed Loan	...	...	...	...	9,000,000
Unified Debt	...	...	...	...	55,990,440
Privileged Debt	...	...	...	...	22,296,000
Domains Loan	...	...	...	...	7,644,000
Daira	„	...	...	...	8,745,000
Total	...	...	...	...	103,675,440

Egypt pays also to the Porte a tribute of £750,000 a year, which is sent direct to London in the name of the Ottoman Government, as guarantee to the Turkish Loans of 1854, 1855, 1871, and 1877.* That tribute has been regulated by the Ottoman firmans. In 1841 it was 80,000 purses, or £376,000, but the late Khedive increased it to £750,000, and a firman in 1886 confirmed this, in exchange for which the late Khedive obtained certain privileges, including the annexation of the coast of the Red Sea, with Massawa. England having greatly weakened the privileges and power of the Khedive; firstly, by the loss of the vast provinces of the Soudan, which were immense resources for the commercial richness of Egypt; and secondly, through having given the coast of the Red Sea to Italy. It is not improbable, therefore, that both France and Russia, who are well represented at the Caisse de la Dette Publique at Cairo, will one day ask a reduction in the tribute of Egypt. If Italy is to remain in Massawa (which Turkey, France, and Russia will not allow) she must bear a portion of the Egyptian tribute, in exchange for those vast provinces she usurped

* See Appendix.

from Turkey, unless she will imitate Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, who, after having promised to bear a portion of the Turkish foreign debt, by the Treaty of Berlin, have never carried out their obligation. The question of the Egyptian tribute may therefore be a future international one to settle.

Yet it should be known that the Egyptians never dream of again modifying the financial situation of their country, they would only do that if offers were proposed to them from London. In financial matters, the interests of England are amply protected at Cairo by the European (read English) financial adviser. In order to maintain the equilibrium in the Egyptian Budget in such a way as to respect its financial engagement, the Egyptian Government was obliged last winter to practice economy to an unlimited and inconvenient extent. The Budget of Police was reduced from £250,000 to £200,000, but how is that difference made up?

I will explain. There are actually in Egypt about 5,000 constables, or policemen, receiving 250 piastres, or 54s., per month. They were reduced lately to 150 piastres, about 32s. per month, or barely thirteenpence per day. Out

of this pay the constable has to support himself and his family. Thirteenpence a day to a policeman, who is entrusted with the security of the public would seem a very astonishing thing in London, yet in Egypt it is a fact. I should much like to know how the British officials can ever hope to restore order in a country where the wages of those who are entrusted with the public safety are so miserably underpaid ?

Whilst the ordinary Egyptian police are so badly paid, the officers governing them are too highly remunerated. There are in Egypt no fewer than 32 officers in the Police Department, of whom 26 are English, receiving in all no less than £7,160 sterling annually. I may here point out a few of the posts in the hands of English officers and their pay :—

	Per annum.
	£
The Inspector-General of Police receives ...	2,160
A Deputy-Inspector at Alexandria receives ...	1,000
A Deputy-Inspector at Assiout receives ...	1,000
An Inspector at Cairo receives	600
An Inspector at Assiout receives	700
Commander of the Police at Cairo receives ...	700
Director-General of the Stores receives ...	700
Assistant Deputy-Inspector receives	700

Thus the Chief Commissioner of Police in Cairo receives £60 more than the Chief Commissioner

of Police in London, whose salary, I believe, is £2,100 annually. I could go on naming inspector-generals, inspectors, deputy-inspectors generals, deputy inspectors, aides-de-camp, &c., &c., receiving high salaries for an organisation which has rendered no service, and which is by degrees returning to its former laws and regulations.

If at the beginning of the so-called police organisation in Egypt, a few of the most competent officers of the London Police Department had been sent to Cairo, much greater service would have been rendered to that country by them, than by those officers actually in the police service in Egypt. All the other so-called reforms which have been effected in Egypt, and which have had the consequences of diminishing the number of the Egyptian officers of the army as well as civilians, have created amongst the natives a great cause of dissension against the authorities.

What is more astonishing is, that all the foreign officials who are in Egypt are ignorant of the language of the country, and of the habits of the people. They arrive in Egypt strangers—strangers in every sense of the word—and

they wish to conduct public affairs as they do in London or in the Colonies. When they arrive in Cairo, they are not astonished at their own ignorance of the language and habits of the people, but they are astonished that nobody understands them ! There are exceptions, of course; some officials are rendering good service and gaining public esteem. Amongst them is Mr. Caillard, who is conducting the Custom House Department with much ability, to the satisfaction of all. There are also some English officials in the Police Department who are of valuable assistance, young Englishmen who are making wonderful progress in the acquirement of the Arabic language ; and there are many Englishmen—honest Englishmen, I am glad to say—who know the language and are familiar with the people, their habits and customs, &c., who might be of great use ; but of course this class is not consulted on Egyptian affairs. There are also Englishmen who have been in the service of the Egyptian Government for many years, who are highly esteemed by the natives, understand the views and ideas of the people, and are familiar with them ; but these, I regret to say also, are not consulted by their

fellow-countrymen: perhaps they are not English enough, or the climate of the Nile has made them too Egyptian !

Englishmen travelling in Egypt should not seek to obtain information at "Shepherd's" or the "New Hotel." They should visit their fellow-countrymen who have resided there for years in the Egyptian service, and who are interested in the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, and who look with regret, with sorrow, and with affliction of the action of their Government in the country they are serving. It is not at the Ezbekia Gardens, in the beautiful promenades of Faggala, Abbasia, Ghiza, and other European places that they will gain an idea about Egypt and the Egyptians.

Englishmen of all ranks and positions should visit the Arab quarters. They should go to the bridge near Boulak, and they will find after ten in the evening hundreds of children sleeping on the bare ground, with nothing under them but the earth, and nothing over them but the sky. Thousands of these destitute and miserable creatures are to be seen sleeping in that state in the different streets, and especially on the last-named bridge.

It is an official fact that the rate of mortality in Cairo is 4 per 1,000 for the Europeans, and 50 per 1,000 for the natives. I do not of course mean to infer that the actual political state of Egypt is the cause of this, but I do say that it has contributed to the increase of poverty and misery in the country. When thousands of officials of different classes have been turned out of office, for no other reason whatever but because they find nobody to defend them, or because the *soi-disant* financial condition of the country required that economy should be effected, and should be practised on the Egyptians and not on foreigners—who are protected by their Consuls, while the Egyptians have no one to look to—the condition of the people could not be otherwise; and thus it is that thousands of poor creatures sleep nightly on those damp and inclement winter nights in Cairo, out on the roads, under the very eyes of the British authorities.

The actual population of Cairo numbers about 350,000 souls, of whom 22,000 alone are Europeans. The Europeans have their own quarters, and in the Ismailia quarter of Cairo you will find here and there some Egyptian villas. The

Ismailia quarter, with the charming Ezbekia Gardens, the beautiful promenades of the Jezira, are all the *rendezvous* of the European "high life." These quarters are looked after with the greatest care, to the detriment of the whole of the Arab quarters, which are never touched, where mud accumulates to the depth of half a yard, and forms a sort of strong cement. The Egyptians have to pay taxes to keep up roads, gardens, and promenades which they seldom frequent.

Englishmen, especially officials, travelling in Egypt, rarely visit the Arabs, except out of mere curiosity to see their picturesque costumes, their Oriental homes, the ceilings of their houses, &c. Seldom do they make a visit from any other motive than that of idle curiosity, and when they return to London they will say that they know Cairo and its people! "A journey to Egypt" is sufficient for them to write a book on the political situation of that country and its inhabitants!

A few days' stay at "Shepherd's" or at the "New Hotel" will be sufficient for them to profess to know what are the complaints of the Egyptians! When these English officials

visit a Sheikh, a Pacha, a Bey, or a notable personage in Cairo, they are generally accompanied by some English officials in the Egyptian service. I should like to know what Sheikh, Pacha, or Bey would dare to express his views to any English official coming from London, through the medium of a fellow countryman in the British or Egyptian service at Cairo. The English traveller would doubtless do this with good intentions, and without any *arrière pensée*.

I have myself often received many English visitors, and although I speak English fluently, yet my guest was never unaccompanied by an English official.

After the English visitor has seen the beautiful European quarters, after having revelled in the balmy air of Cairo, and seen its beautiful mosques, the Khedive and his Ministers, a Sheikh, a few Pachas, &c., the "dragoman friend" will then begin to explain to his noble visitor the affairs of Egypt, and the following conversation generally ensues :—

"I cannot enumerate all the reforms that we have effected in Egypt during the few years that we have been here. The people are be-

coming happy under our management, the coupons are regularly paid, the privileged bonds have nearly reached par, and after having yesterday paid the last coupon in full, we have in our hands a balance of more than £200,000 for the next coupon."

"Indeed?"

"Slavery has been abolished all over Egypt; the Soudan is now quiet; there are no more Mahdis; the Arabs begin to understand the importance of our occupation, that we came here to improve their commercial and social life, and above all, to ameliorate the financial condition of their country!"

"Most happy to hear it!"

"'COURBAJE,' that is to say, flogging, has been abolished; it was awful some time ago. Only imagine that, before we came to this country, any of these Pachas or Beys, in fact anyone, could take a 'fellah' and give him 500 lashes, or even more, and nobody would dare to interfere! It was the custom to administer justice in that manner."

"Most shocking!"

"To-day no such thing can take place, all are equal before the law. We have established

tribunals, and we are training up a school of judges who will soon understand how to administer justice according to our principles in India."

"Ah, that is important to know."

"Agriculture is improving, exportation and importation are increasing. We imported last year from England to this country goods to the value of £4,000,000 sterling in round numbers, Egypt has exported produce to the amount of £9,000,000, and the English trade has greatly benefited by it."

"Most important facts these."

"It would be a very great blunder indeed, if after all the valuable reforms we have introduced into this country we should have to quit it, for that would only mean throwing Egypt and the Egyptians back into their former state, and Egypt would become again what it was in former days, the land of taxes, the land of 'cour-baje,' the land of injustice, and the land of blunders!"

"I will take note of this."

"Yes. Backshish is stamped out, little trace of it exists now in Egypt."

"Pray what do you mean by 'backshish'?"

"It means *bribery*; it was the custom of the country before we came here that nothing could be done, no business whatever transacted, without bribery!"

"Ah, that is most shocking, fearful!"

"But to-day no such thing can happen, the Government is severe, the people are glad to see such an important reform introduced into the country. Persons giving or taking a bribe are now exposed to grave penalties. The word 'backshish' is nearly forgotten, and it will soon be erased from the Egyptian vocabulary."

"I quite coincide with your views and wishes."

"We have still a strong element to encounter, and that is the foreign element."

"Indeed?"

"The French, Russian, and other foreign elements here will not allow us to execute our own reforms. They always create trouble and embarrassment for us; but their opposition is on the decline. We have the support of the Government of the Khedive, which is really animated with the best intentions towards us, and I hope that Downing Street will support this Government."

"What are your views about Nubar? I hear certain complaints against him."

"Of course there is a strong element against him, that is because he is England's real friend. It is through him that we have been able to carry out all our reforms; he is the most intelligent man in the country, and, above all, the most energetic. The European reforming element has the utmost confidence in him."

"I hear that he is an Armenian?"

"A Turkish Armenian—an Armenian and a Turk are the same; the Turks and Arabs are also the same. It is unfortunate that in London the public do not occupy themselves enough with the Egyptian question; they are so much engrossed with the affairs of Ireland. Egypt owes us more than £100,000,000 sterling, and we derive from it an annual income of more than £4,600,000. We have an annual trade with this country of nearly £13,000,000, and once the pacification of the Soudan is complete, we shall more than treble our commerce with this rich territory. The Arabs are beginning to taste the fruits of our work, the work of civilisation, the civilisation of the nineteenth century, and are becoming familiarised with us; but the

Khedive's Government should be supported by Downing Street!"

And thus our friend the traveller returns to London under the impression that, thanks to his "friend the guide" he thoroughly knows all about Egypt!

A nobleman, a diplomatist, or anyone else in London desiring to be acquainted with Egypt, should seek to do so either through the Egyptians directly, or the English merchants, doctors, lawyers, or others who have resided in Egypt for very many years, who have been familiarised with the views of the Egyptians, their habits and customs, and who have not, *directly* or *indirectly*, any commercial contracts with the *army of occupation*, or *directly* or *indirectly* with any undertakings of the *Government of Nubar*. Those Englishmen might have been in a position to render much more important service to their country than the many English officials now in the Egyptian service, who are ignorant of the language and customs of the people. As I have already said, the Egyptians do not object to the English controlling their country, or to its being governed under their superintendence, but what they desire is, that the *Egyptian ele-*

ment should be respected, that the autonomy and the administration of Egypt should be recognised ; in short, they desire what the British diplomats themselves have often declared in Parliament, viz., "Egypt for the Egyptians ;" but this is a very elastic and ambiguous expression. "Egypt for the Egyptians !" quite right, *and the Egyptians for whom ?* for the English ? for the French, the Russians ? or for whom ? For anybody and everybody, except for the Egyptians themselves ! This is what the Egyptians ask to-day, and this is what no English diplomats can yet solve !

I do not think that London officials yet know what an Egyptian is. I merely see this word applied to foreigners residing in Egypt. I often see in official documents, and also in the Blue Book, that the word "Egyptian" is applied to a foreign person residing in Egypt. Armenians, German subjects, Syrians, French and Russian subjects, pass as natives, as I have already explained. Nubar Pacha can never be called an Egyptian, and should you ever tell him that he is one, he would certainly consider it the greatest insult you could offer him.

A proof of the political feeling of the Egyptian

Premier towards his fellow-countrymen is seen in the ball which the Armenian colony in Cairo give every year for the benefit of the Armenian schools. Never is any other such *brillante soirée* seen in Cairo! This ball is under the direct patronage of the "Vice-Reine," and advertisements in French, in every corner of the streets, announce to the Egyptians this "revolution in the modern civilisation of Egypt."

The Khedive, all his Ministers, the high civil and military officials, the diplomatic body (the Imperial Ottoman Commissioner and the French and Russian representatives excepted), Pachas, Beys, all have to flock to the Opera House in aid of the "Armenians under the protection of the Egyptian Premier." The net receipts derived from this ball in March last were no less than £2,000 sterling. It is a pleasure to see that in a country like Egypt, where the Government thinks so little of the education and instruction of any class, that one ball on one evening should produce for the Armenian schools £2,000 sterling. And it should be repeated here that the Vekil of Public Instruction in Cairo is also an Armenian.

But let us look on another picture, and see how the *soirées* for the benefit of the Egyptian schools, those for the children of poor fellaheens, are managed. The Egyptian public instructors, the Mohammedan Arab professors, who have to arrange a *soirée* at the Opera House for the benefit of the Egyptian schools, have to go round begging that a box or a stall may be graciously taken for this charitable purpose. There is no Minister to influence or impose on the functionaries the acceptance of tickets; on the contrary, every sort of official vexation is practised to thwart the success of this national and patriotic enterprise. The Vekil of Public Instruction being himself an Armenian, can it be wondered at? What was the net receipt of that Arab entertainment for the benefit of the Egyptian schools? Only £27! How is it to be expected that such acts should not incense public opinion in Egypt—should not create continual ill-feeling with the Egyptians towards those who are managing the destiny of their country?

The English Government, it seems, is not aware of the political danger it is incurring, and especially to its interests in the East, by

creating or tolerating such a state of things in Egypt, which, in the long run, must affect other Mohammedan provinces.

I will now point out more clearly to the diplomatists, who have to-day the destiny of Great Britain in their hands, the designs of Nubar Pacha. As I have already explained, the Egyptian Premier is an Armenian of Smyrna (his real name is Micherdich). Everyone is aware that the Armenians in Turkey and the Armenians abroad, like the other Christian nationalities of the East, dream of becoming an independent state—a separate nation, with its king, its ministers, with its constitution, its parliament, its army, and its fleet, even with a national debt, and everything that the blessings of the civilisation of this era may give to a nation.

They say, "The Roumanians are a nation, and have their king. So have the Servians; the Montenegrins have also a prince, and his crown is now being made by one of the jewellers at St. Petersburg. The Bulgarians also have the blessings of civilisation—they have had one prince, and are now seeking for another."

The Armenians exclaim, "Why! all these

people have kings and princes, and we quiet people, why should we not have one?" And so they also dream of having theirs. "But," I reply, "my dear Armenian gentlemen, if you have a king or a prince, the Russians will soon swallow you up; they will incorporate you, and your country will become worse than a second Bulgaria!"

"Never mind," some Nubarians will say, "we must have a king, or at least a prince. History must say that Armenia gained this in the nineteenth century. What an insult for us that history should treat us with disdain and contempt, and treat the Sclavs with pride and honour!"

This is the dream of Nubar and his Armenian friends. Instead of uniting with the Turks for the common interests of their countrymen, to ask from the Porte more liberty and reforms, they are forming communities, the centre of which is Cairo—which will eventually occasion disastrous consequences to their brethren. Although nearly 70 years old, Nubar thinks he could be a "good prince" for his nation, and it is only the English who would be able to make a throne for him, even if it were only

similar to that of Prince Alexander, late of Bulgaria.

The arguments of Nubar are these. He declares: "The Turks promised in Article 62 of the Berlin Treaty to give full liberty and reforms to Armenia ; but the Armenians, according to the Armenian diplomatist, have not seen any of these promises performed by the Turks, as these promises made to the Slavs and the Greeks, to whom all has been conceded, but nothing has been granted to the Armenians. As long as Turkey does not give us an autonomy, I will crush Turkish influence in Egypt, I will abolish Turkish schools, dismiss Turkish professors, prohibit the Turkish language, will crush all that is Mohammedan until Turkey shall grant our desire in Armenia."

Nubar in Egypt is imitating Russia in the Balkans, which Power says to England, "Will you, or will you not, let me act in Bulgaria as I wish ? If not, I will let loose the dogs of war on your Central Asia."

Nubar says to Turkey, "Will you, or will you not, give the Armenians an autonomy in Armenia ? If you don't grant us what we want I will upset all your influence, crush all your

elements in Egypt." Such is, in few words, the political programme of Nubar, to which Downing Street lends its support. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's mission to Constantinople was not meant for the Egyptian question alone, but its object was to gain the friendship of Turkey. This friendship is necessary for England for many reasons, amongst others, because, without the influence of the Sultan, Egypt can never enter upon a phase of tranquillity. Lord Salisbury cleverly explained this in the instructions he wrote to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff on the eve of his departure for Constantinople, of which the following is a brief abstract :—

"The co-operation of the Sultan in Egypt will doubtless exercise a marked influence on the minds of large bodies of the inhabitants who profess the faith of Islam, and will neutralise the evil effects arising from any suspicion they may have entertained that it was intended to subject them to the domination of nations differing from themselves in faith. The Sultan also possesses in the various nations under his rule the means of supplying soldiers to whom the climate of the southern territories of Egypt

is not injurious, and he is therefore in a position to bring to bear upon the task of restoring and maintaining order in those regions brave and efficient troops, who will suffer under no material disadvantage to which the insurgent inhabitants of the country itself are exposed."*

Another proof of the immense and unlimited influence that the Sultan possesses over the Egyptians may be gathered from the despatch written by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to Lord Salisbury, dated from Cairo, July 15, 1886. He says: "I believe the presence here of Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, as the representative of the Caliph, has done much to calm the minds of the people, and to produce the

* "All idea of evacuating *en masse* must be given up, it is totally impossible, and the only solution is to let the Turks come in, or else to leave me here, the very thought of which makes me shudder." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 25.) "Suakin and Massawah to be free ports under the Turks." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 96.)

"1,000 troops at Khartoum, 6,000 Turks land at Suakin and march to Berber, 4,000 Turks land at Massawah and march to Cassala." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 96.)

"If you do not arrange with the Turks, you will not get out of the country for a year, and it will cost you twelve millions, and probably then you will have to fall back on the Turks; whereas if you arrange with the Turks you can get out in January, and it will cost you seven millions." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 101.)

"If I were Lord Wolseley I would make Her Majesty's Government send the Turks here." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 168.)

state of comparative tranquillity which now exists in the country. . . ; and the reports which I had the honour to send to your lordship from Youssouf Pacha Shuhdi at Wady Halfa, I think, to a certain extent, prove that his mission, as emanating from the Khedive and the representative of the Sultan, has some effect in tranquillising the minds of the Soudanese, especially those who have not been religiously led away by the pretensions of the Mahdi. Whatever may be the future of Egypt, I believe that the influence of the Sultan, unless forcibly terminated, will always be considerable in Egypt, and it appears to me more desirable that it should be maintained as a recognised and legitimate factor, than that by its removal Egypt should be made more than at present a prey to contending interests, prompted and supported by foreign agencies and colonies. . . The Sultan's authority is strong amongst his Mussulman subjects, and the fervent, not to say fanatical, feelings of the Mohammedans towards the head of their faith will always give him a practical power which cannot be overlooked. In this respect the stay of Moukhtar Pacha in Egypt has been of real, if not of obvious

benefit; being above all suspicion of corrupt motives, whilst holding very strong religious views, he exercises a great influence over the Ulema class, and, through them, over the Mussulman community. This influence, as before observed, has been employed with a tranquillising effect, and I am glad to be able to testify to the high-minded manner in which Moukhtar Pacha has exercised his functions."

England has 30,000,000 Mohammedans in India under her control; her interest is therefore to defend the weak Mohammedan States from strong foreign Powers, and in so doing England will have the Mohammedan element in India in her favour. Future events in Central Asia will compel England to follow the traditional policy of former English statesmen. The Ministry now in office is, I think, beginning to understand this; and, thanks to the policy of Bismarck, England is to-day endeavouring to improve her relations with Turkey; she wishes to arrive at an understanding with the Sultan, but, unfortunately, does not know how to attain her object. No solid friendship, no friendly relations with Turkey can be established; the bitter feelings of the Mohammedans cannot be

removed unless the Egyptian question is settled. The adjustment of it will decide whether Turkey is to be in future the friend of England or the friend of Russia. It is not for the Ottoman Government alone to decide it ; there is a tribunal more powerful than that, and this tribunal is the "public opinion of the Mohammedan world." This is the true key to the Egyptian question, and this is what the British High Commissioner in Constantinople was endeavouring to settle.

If England shows a little more tact in Egypt, if she imitates Russian diplomacy in Central Asia, and France in Tunis, and studies to make allowance for the susceptibilities of the country in whose affairs she is compelled to interfere ; if she does not allow foreigners to reign over the Egyptians ; in short, if she shows more forbearance towards them ; if she will put into practice her motto of "Egypt for the Egyptians" in the truest sense, the Egyptian question will then be placed upon a basis of peace and tranquillity, and England will gain for herself the esteem and sympathy of the Mohammedan world, more especially of that great military Power of Turkey.

CHAPTER II.

BISMARCK'S POLICY IN THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION.

THE policy of Prince Bismarck, the arbitrator of Europe, is exerting at the present moment great influence on the Ottoman Government. Turkey has now become a great belligerent Power, in order to maintain her position in Europe as one of the chief military nations, and is determined to have her own independence respected and maintained. It seems that the distinguished German diplomatist wanted at a certain time to fortify the Ottoman element in Africa and Asia, in compensation for the loss it sustained in its power in Europe, more especially since Austria-Hungary took possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and is aiming, through the aid of Germany, to extend her interest and influence in the Balkans.

When, some years ago, the three Emperors were in perfect harmony and agreement, and when the alliance was existing between them,

England found herself isolated. At that time the Liberals were in office, and the Prince employed all his diplomacy and power to sustain the Turkish element against their leader and his Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone made no secret of his policy against the Turks, either at Stamboul or in London. On the contrary, he was too frank ; he was not diplomatic enough to conceal his animosity ; he widely declared in every question regarding Turkey, from the famous Dolcigno naval demonstration down to the Egyptian imbroglio, or rather down to the bombardment of Alexandria. " Bag and baggage " was his motto. This gave a good opportunity to Bismarck to secure the friendship of Turkey, which became at that time the bitterest political enemy of England. He aimed at two birds with one stone. He was working against Gladstone's Cabinet for its antagonism against Austria-Hungary, and he got Turkey on his side, and guided her in her political destinies.

Without partiality, I must say that in the Egyptian question Bismarck acted towards Turkey with sincerity. For when Saadullah Pacha, formerly the Turkish Ambassador in

Berlin, and now at Vienna, asked the Prince about his ideas as to Turkey co-operating with the English troops in Egypt at the time when England asked the Sublime Porte to do so, the Prince gave his candid advice to the Ottoman Government. He told them not to lose an instant, but to co-operate with England by sending Turkish soldiers to the banks of the Nile ; but the Sublime Porte observed, through the medium of its Ambassador at Berlin, that the troops of the Sultan might be exposed to some complicated events in Egypt, and that the Mohammedans would not view in a favourable spirit such co-operation.

The Porte in this question was not quite well informed as to the Egyptian religious feeling, or it might have given the subject a more practical solution. Bismarck replied that once the Turkish Government had sent its troops to Egypt, it might keep them there as long as it pleased—Turkey could always find some pretext for not evacuating the country ; but the Sublime Porte did not seem to take into consideration the Prince's advice, which was at that time undoubtedly given *bonâ fide*. The Turkish Ministers probably thought that Germany was

not acting honestly with them, and had some *arrière pensée*. It was probably a foreign element which put this idea into the head of the Ottoman statesmen. So Turkey refused to send her troops with those of England, and had refused to send them alone when long before invited to do so.

Many of the leading Ulemas, however, believed that sending Turkish soldiers to Egypt was not against the Mohammedan law, and declared that the Shiekh-el-Islam, at Constantinople, the highest religious authority, would give a "fetwa" that the Egyptians were rebels against the Khalife if they had not welcomed the Sultan's troops in establishing order and tranquillity; and, as rebels, would forfeit all claim to consideration from the Mohammedan world. Besides this, the Mohammedans in Cairo declared that should the troops of the Sultan-Khalife land in Egypt, the population would receive them with open arms, and consider them as their brethren, and as the representative of their Sovereign. Everyone knows the rest. England sent her troops alone to Egypt, where they still remain, waiting until, as say the English diplomatists, the country

shall be in perfect order. Bismarck's well-meant advice on the Egyptian question being viewed in Constantinople with a little diffidence, the Prince took care never to express his views again to Turkish diplomatists on Egyptian affairs when he was asked to do so, but this indifference soon disappeared. A high military personage from Constantinople was entrusted with a special mission to Berlin on other questions, and he soon overcame the susceptibilities of the Prince. When Bismarck had an opportunity of speaking to that distinguished Ottoman official, and the Egyptian question was the topic of conversation, "What can I do for you now, my dear Pacha?" said he. "I advised you in time to send your troops to Egypt, and you refused. I then advised you to co-operate with England, this you also declined; you did not believe in my sincerity. You might have by this time made Egypt a second Broussa" (*sic*).

In a word, Prince Bismarck's "original" policy in the Egyptian question was frank and to the point.

Some time ago, in the English Parliament, certain revelations on the Egyptian question

were made, when Lord Granville—then the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—declared that Bismarck advised England to take Egypt. There were bitter feelings in the German press regarding this revelation ; even the semi-official organs of Berlin expressed their astonishment at this bold statement, and Bismarck was obliged to make a declaration in correction of it in the Reichstag. He said that he distinctly told the English Ministers that, if he were one of the members of their Cabinet, he would in the Egyptian question act in concert with the Sultan.

We have, therefore, before us two declarations contradicting each other, but emanating from two authorities—one the arbitrator of Europe, the other a renowned English statesman of the highest rank. It may be that after all Bismarck gave a hint to the British Government to take Egypt, but perhaps he adopted this plan as a ruse to elicit the real intention of England on the question, for he knew that Gladstone was the enemy of Turkey, and Germany was at that time beginning to develop her colonial policy. One can never believe that Bismarck seriously meant to hand Egypt

over to England in 1885—it was too soon! Bismarck seemed desirous to strengthen Turkey in Africa and Asia, and besides that, the Egyptian question was, and is still, serving Germany's purpose by creating bad feeling between Russia and England on the one side, and much more between France and England on the other. It was compelling England to seek the services of Germany, which she is still doing, and it was isolating France in her European policy. What more could Germany desire than this? The Egyptian question is for her a God-send. Bismarck would prefer to see the Suzerain power of the Sultan established in Egypt, rather than diminished, or that England should take possession of these vast African provinces! Yet Bismarck's views may change with circumstances and events, like all political programmes. The policy of a Government is not meant to be everlasting; a diplomatist is not always expected to act in the same way; he may do one thing to-day, and feel himself called upon to act quite differently some time after; or he may say one thing to-day, and give another interpretation to his words to-morrow, as best suits his purpose. Where

is that famous Treaty of Berlin? Very few of its Articles have ever been put into practice, and yet it was signed by all the great Powers of Europe! Montenegro, Greece, Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria have never respected their engagements, not even where financial matters which concern Europe were at stake. The whole body of foreign Turkish bondholders, whom Europe defends at so much sacrifice, are still waiting for the execution of the Treaty in the financial matters which concern them.

Since Russia has lost the alliance of the two other Emperors, and is isolated in her policy, Bismarck is more in favour of a reconciliation between England and Turkey. The reason is clear. Bismarck desires to strengthen the position of the Conservative Government. The Bulgarian question has created bad feeling between Russia and Austria on one side, and between Russia and England on the other. Bismarck, who desires the isolation of Russia, is endeavouring to create a barrier against her. This barrier is, first, in the military force of Turkey, and, secondly, in the unity of the Balkan States, Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania.

The former is more easy to understand than the latter. Turkey is a strong, united military power, but the three Balkan States are composed of so many different elements; and Russian influence is so dominant amongst the , that it might be difficult to see that second project put into execution. The actual unsettled state of Servia and Bulgaria shows that the unity of the Balkan States as a barrier to check Russian influence is almost an impossibility. The Turks are therefore the only element that could do the work of Germany. The Turkish troops are bold and courageous, and, with brave officers, they can defy any military power in Europe. Turkey is now undergoing great reformation in her military administration, and is purchasing arms and ammunition of the latest invention to a great extent, to be able to contend against any military powers in Europe.

Bismarck, in a conversation with the high Ottoman dignitary already referred to, said: "Turkey must show Europe that she can exist by herself alone, by her own strength, and that she can only do by maintaining a strong army." Said he, "*La Turquie armée est pour vous une question vitale.*"

The *partial* success of the mission of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to Constantinople, and the signature of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, was greatly due to the support given by Germany and Austria-Hungary at Constantinople, and more especially Germany; and had it not been that the Mohammedan public opinion condemned that Convention—a condemnation supported by those two great Powers, France and Russia—there is no doubt that the Sultan would have ratified it. Germany and Austria endeavoured also last year in Constantinople to make the reception of the Duke of Edinburgh there by the Sultan as brilliant as possible, whilst two other Powers endeavoured to do the reverse. I will not say which of the two Powers was the more successful. Downing Street is *probably* aware of what passed at Stamboul when His Royal Highness was there.

As I have already explained, there is no doubt that Germany to-day desires to consolidate the understanding between Turkey and England, to have a quintuple *entente* against Russia, and to isolate France; but Turkey may not benefit much by the policy, for the immense

amount she is spending on her armament in Europe may only be, after all, for the benefit of Austria's interests in the East ; for all depends upon whether England is really in earnest in coming to an understanding with Turkey on the Egyptian question or not, or whether she has an *arrière pensée* in her new Convention, as Article V. is so elastic that England may interpret it in any way she likes. Turkey could not go against Russia *de but-en-blanc*, or as briskly as she tried it in 1877. Russia is, after all, a strong European and Asiatic Power, and in Asia she is a neighbouring Power to Turkey. In the event of a quarrel arising between the Sublime Porte and Russia, will England execute the Treaty of Cyprus, or will the English help be merely sentimental ? Will England find some excuse not to fight Russia, should that Power advance to her Asiatic frontiers ? Perhaps England would rather return Cyprus to Turkey than fight the Russians ; or, most probably, she will not fight them, and yet she will keep Cyprus ! What benefit, therefore, can Turkey derive by making an enemy of Russia, if she is not sure of the friendship of England—a tangible friendship, and not a sentimental one ?

Certainly, judging by the light of affairs in Egypt, we are not assured that England's friendship is more than sentimental. If England really desires to settle matters with the Turks frankly and honestly, she should begin by settling them in Egypt, and the effects of this honest policy would soon be felt in Constantinople. But unless Cairo is satisfied, the arrangement between England and Turkey may only be a temporary one, for the unsettled state of things in Cairo will always create reaction on the Turkish religious and political circles in Constantinople and throughout the Turkish Empire. If the English and German diplomatists work in this sense, they may soon obtain their desires, and the Egyptian question will have assumed a phase of tranquillity ; and England will have rid herself of a very heavy burden.

If Bismarck really desires an understanding between England and Turkey—of which I have no doubt whatever—he should study the complaints of Egypt more closely, and advise the English Government, which is so much influenced by him, to settle this burning question in a more practical way. He should support the

contents of the memorandum which Rustem Pacha, the Ottoman Ambassador in London, presented to Lord Salisbury on the 20th of July last, the contents of which point out the actual griefs of the Egyptians, and the measures that should be employed to satisfy their wishes, and by so doing, his able policy will bear good fruit.

CHAPTER III.

THE RIVALRY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA FOR PRESTIGE IN THE EAST.

EVERY impartial observer of passing events must admit that the prestige of England in the East has been declining for the last ten years, not only in Turkey and in Egypt, but also on the coast of the Red Sea, from Suez to Zanzibar, in Arabia, in Persia, and in Central Asia, perhaps also in India, at least among the Mohammedan subjects of all these wide realms. This decline of prestige has been caused, firstly, by the great loss that Turkey sustained in her late war with Russia, and the advance of the Czar's troops to so near Constantinople; and, secondly, by the progressive advance of Russia in Central Asia. After the dismembering of the Ottoman Empire by Europe, Russia taking the part of the conqueror; Austria-Hungary securing, with the will and advice of England and Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina, without

shedding a drop of blood ; France engulfing Tunis ; England absorbing the friendly portion, Cyprus (on the pretext of fighting Russia should she attack the Turks in Asia) ; Germany getting what she wanted for her sister, Austria-Hungary ; Persia, Greece, Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, and even the Bulgarians, each had a share. In fact, the friends of the Turks as well as their foes all profited greatly by the late Russo-Turkish war. If, however, an understanding had taken place between these two Governments instead of going to war, the condition of Turkey would have been infinitely better than it is to-day. After the Treaty of Berlin, the Ottoman Government never had a moment's rest to enable her to carry out the necessary reforms in her provinces, and question after question arose. Even the small Balkan States and Greece have refused to put into execution the Articles of the Treaty which concern them, and Europe has not been able to compel them to fulfil their obligations. Amongst the grave questions which the Ottoman Government encountered was that of Egypt. The deposition of Ismail Pacha, the ex-Khedive, the revolt in Egypt, and finally the anarchy in the

Soudan, of this lamentable event everyone is aware, and it is quite unnecessary to repeat the history here. Khartoum and Gordon fell into the hands of Mohammed Ahmed, the *soi-disant* Mahdi. The brave English troops had to retreat from the Soudan, and day after day they drew nearer to Cairo, until they made Wady Halfa the limits of their frontier, after England had spent her millions of treasure and thousands of her best and bravest sons. What has she gained by her Egyptian policy? Nothing! She lost money and men, and above all, she lost her prestige in Europe, and in the eyes of the whole Mohammedan world, more especially in Turkey, India, and Central Asia, where the English policy in the Soudan was followed step by step with the greatest interest and anxiety. The decline of English prestige in the East began more seriously from the day Khartoum and Gordon fell into the hands of the Mahdi; the day when the English retreated and left the country, which they went to civilise, in disorder and anarchy, throwing it back to what it was two centuries ago, and after having cost the Egyptian Government half a century of

time, and millions of money, and enormous efforts, to subjugate.

If Turkey had made such a fiasco in one of the provinces inhabited by her Christian subjects, Heaven knows what a shower of attacks would have fallen upon her from civilised Europe! They would have imposed upon her the obligation to declare at once the independence of that country. Russia would gladly have paid millions to obtain such a blow against England as that which fell upon her at Khartoum, for it gave her a pretext to continue her plans in Central Asia, and thus weaken England's means of defence in those distant regions.

Our readers are quite aware that Russia created the Pendjeh quarrel in the spring of 1885, when Khartoum had fallen into the hands of the Mahdi, and when the blood of the English hero was not yet dry. The Pendjeh question at that time created a great sensation in London. The Government understood that Russia was taking advantage of the English troubles in Egypt to advance further into Central Asia. This has always been the enlightened and clever policy of the Russians, viz., to profit by any sort of trouble of England

in Europe, to advance further into Central Asia. The Indian Government was making great preparations for eventualities, and Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, held in March of that year a grand durbar at Rawul Pindi, and invited to it not only all the Indian princes, but also Abd-el-Rahman Khan, the actual Emir of Afghanistan; and when at the durbar he was reviewing the Indian troops who were to defend the Afghan frontier, General Kauffman, that clever Russian "military diplomatist," sent his bullets among the unruly tribes of Afghanistan, killing more than 500 of them. The British Government, astonished at such a *coup de tête*, prepared for war; nothing was spared to show that she was this time in earnest to fight Russia, and not to allow her prestige to further decline. Military and naval preparations in London were pushed on to the extreme. The Cabinet demanded and obtained from Parliament its entire confidence and a vote of £11,000,000 sterling. England recalled to London General Roberts, who was in Pendjeh to arrange the Pendjeh boundaries; but Russia gave her brave General Kauffman, who settled the boundary difficulty with his bullets, one of

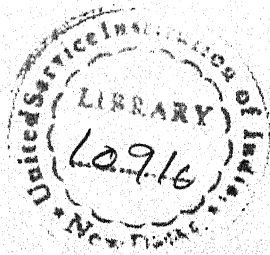
her most important Orders, and distributed grades and decorations to the other officers and soldiers who participated in the incident of Pendjeh, notwithstanding her official disapproval of his rashness!

Turkey took necessary precautions to show that she would have nothing to do with the quarrel, and declared her neutrality, to which she insisted on adhering and having it respected. In order to do so, she sent her strongest Krupp guns to the Dardanelles; she maintained the Treaty of Berlin, that no men-of-war were to make their passage through the Dardanelles. Bismarck supported Turkey's policy of neutrality. The English Government could not induce the Turks, either with threats one day or mild words another, to change their policy, nor even to modify it. Turkey could not act otherwise; Gladstone had always been preaching to turn away the Turks out of Europe with "bag and baggage," without thinking whether a Slavonic Empire on the Bosphorus would not have been more dangerous to England than a Turkish one, or between whom such a vast heritage could be divided.

To replace the Turkish element by the

Slavonic was one of Gladstone's foolish dreams, without pausing to reflect whether a Slavonic empire on the Bosphorus would not have been more dangerous to England than a Turkish one.

But when this "English statesman," or, I should rather say, this great "English orator," was in office, he soon discovered the error of his policy by the obstacles he encountered, and that the Turks, with all their faults, were a necessary element and an important weight for the preservation of the European equilibrium, and pressed down the scales more in favour of England than any other nation. He saw it was no easy matter to remove all Turks from Europe, with or without their "bag and baggage," and this short-sighted policy of his soon brought Russia, France, and Germany to the side of Turkey. In fact, Gladstone not being able to get Turkey with him, and fearing that through German influence an understanding between the Sublime Porte and Russia might be arrived at, and having already frustrated the sentiments of Germany and Austria-Hungary, yielded at once on the Pendjeh question in favour, of course, of Russia. What a humiliation to English prestige in Central Asia, and what a



triumph for Russian diplomacy and prestige in those regions of the East! What did those Indian princes assembled at that famous durbar think of the ignominious termination of that exciting question, more especially Abd-el-Rahman Khan, who believed this time that the English were in earnest to fight the Muscovite Empire for the sake of his few turbulent tribes? As I have already stated, the prestige of Russia in the East since the Pendjeh question grew stronger. The Mohammedans believed in her success and in her glory, and all their eyes turned upon her. They eagerly watched her movements; in former times those movements might have been ignored, but in these days there are so many Arabic papers in circulation in the Mohammedan world, that none of the European affairs are unknown to the Moslem public.

All the speeches in Parliament, public opinion in England and in Russia, are to-day no more a secret to them. They believed that they had at last found a Power that was ready and willing to avenge them against England for what had been done in Egypt, for the bombardment of Alexandria, and for the short-sighted policy in the Soudan, and I may also say, in Afghanistan.

The Mohammedans of India watched the Russian advance with great attention. But did Russia stop at Pendjeh, and has her ambition been satisfied yet? She did for a moment, in order to be more prepared for a better move forward. She retreats one day to be more able to attack later on, in order to find some "scientific frontier," as she calls it, which she has not been able to discover for more than a century! What curious topographical regions those Central Asiatic provinces must be for Russia not to be able to discover yet a "scientific frontier"! But she is working hard to find it; she is constructing for this scientific purpose commercial and military roads and railways, building barracks, and, above all, improving her relations with all the Mohammedan elements she encounters on her way. Those elements are not strangers to her, she is familiar with them, with their habits and manners, their customs, their views, their language, and their wants and ambitions. This is a most ingenious policy, a policy of a high *savoir faire*, and it is this policy that will secure Russian progress in Asia if she continues it, if she respects the creeds of all the races she encounters, if she

forbids her civil and military authorities to disregard the religion, manners, and customs of the people she subjugates; if she will live in harmony with the conquered race, she will gain by her conquests, and allow the conquered to benefit also. She will meet with no barriers, with no obstacles against the accomplishment of her object. The Russian officers are not only clever, brave soldiers and skilled engineers, but they are also clever diplomatists. We have seen them in Constantinople, we have seen Skobeloff, Komaroff, Melekoff, we have seen them not only in their "military promenades," but also in their "diplomatic manœuvres." It is this diplomacy which makes the force of Russia. The progress of the Russians in Central Asia is due more to their *savoir faire* and tact, the quality of their officers and diplomatists, than to the number of their soldiers. An Arab proverb wisely says, "A thousand bears guided by one lion are better than a thousand lions guided by one bear."

With their abilities the Russians have gathered round them those turbulent tribes, they have conquered all those Khans of Central Asia, including Khiva, Khokand, Taschkand, Samercand, and Bokhara. They have regarded their

administrative rights, respected their creeds, above all, they have employed Mohammedans in their military and civil services, given high posts to foreigners under them, promoted Asiatic officers in their army, and distributed Orders and grades to those natives who have fallen under their sway ; to serve as a model of their policy to those nations not yet subdued in Central Asia.

Russia is aware of all that is going on in those regions through a well-organised " Intelligence Department ; " nothing is a secret to her, she will employ every means in order to be well informed of everything which will aid in the execution of her project. She will give any price for the light which will guide her through dark places. What a contrast between this policy and that followed by England with poor Gordon, the martyr of the Soudan ! *

Diplomacy is the Russian *avant garde*. It is

* " General Gordon's chief complaint against the Intelligence Department (Soudan), was that they spent no money in bribing natives to try and get messages through to Khartoum ; had they done so, many, he held, would have volunteered, and some must have succeeded." (Editor of " Gordon's Journal," p. 197.)

" You send me no information, though you have lots of money." (" Gordon's Journal," p. 275.)

not guns or bayonets, it is diplomacy, which has put Abd el-Rahman Khan in his present position, and it is this diplomacy which will upset his throne. It is diplomacy alone which will put Afghanistan into a state of anarchy. Russia fears nobody in that part of the world; there is no Bosphorus to impede her, no Germany, no Austria-Hungary to molest her. She is there alone, and is there "at home," she is seeking for a "scientific frontier" which she cannot find, but which she must find one day *coûte que coûte*. It seems from the telegrams from India, in the London press, that the officials in Calcutta were a few months ago already anticipating an arrangement of the Afghan question. "Should," said Reuter's telegram from Calcutta, "the Emir be overthrown, that will not disarrange the relations between Russia and England. On the contrary, a new Prince will be elected with the mutual consent of the two Governments, and the turbulent tribes of Afghanistan will have no more cause for quarrelling; they will make peace, and everything will be settled for the benefit of both parties."

Such was, a few months ago, the view of the future solution of the Afghan question when the

negotiations about the frontier were broken off, and I presume that British diplomacy believed in such an arrangement. But if all Europe combined has not yet been able to find a Prince for the Bulgarians in Europe, I cannot understand how England can find one for the Afghans in Central Asia ! Although the protocol defining the Afghan frontier was signed on July 22 last at St Petersburg, yet this is not the first time that Russia has signed protocols on the same subject, nor, is it presumed, that it will be the last. This protocol is nothing more or less than the extension of the district between the rivers Ruskh and Marghab, for the possession of which the Pendjeh Turcomans have always contended ; this district consists of flat pasture lands which are indispensable to the prosperity of the Pendjeh oasis. As these districts are not the "scientific frontiers" which Russia is seeking, it is presumed that the above-named protocol which was signed without the Government asking for a credit of eleven millions, will in no way hinder the Russian design in Asia. Russia merely paused on her forward march in Central Asia to gain breath, and will remain quiescent until English diplomatists occasion further com-

plication in Egypt or elsewhere. We shall then hear of fresh disturbances in the neighbourhood of the North-West provinces, which (unless a war suits her purpose best) will give rise to a new delimitation of boundaries. That scientific frontier which is Russia's goal is indeed difficult to reach; meanwhile, however, she contents herself by as large annexation as she can obtain, without, for the moment, drawing her sword.

Mr. Arminius Vambery, the celebrated traveller, an authority on Central Asia affairs, wrote from Gossensass, on July 28, an important letter to *The Times* on the subject of this new frontier negotiation, of which the following is an abstract :—

“A frontier line, delimitating the sphere of action and of influence, can be of any use and value only where the respective borders of the two contracting Powers immediately join, and not, as in the present case, where Russia is the undisputed and unwatched master on the spot, while your outposts are at a distance of several hundred miles from the so-called ‘happily-erected’ frontier pillars, and while you will have to rely upon the services of a doubtful friend for information of the movements and acts of your rival. If such a frontier line could have been settled 15 years ago, when Russia had not yet subdued Khiva and the Turcomans, this fact would have had some importance, inasmuch as one could have said, ‘Russia will remain on the right bank of the Oxus and the region on the left bank will remain under English influence,’ or, to use an historical phrase, ‘Iran and Turan will be divided as in antiquity.’ But now the events of the last 15 years have greatly changed the situation.

There is no river, mountain, or desert which could be made serviceable as a reasonable frontier line between England and Russia, considering that the last-named Power has passed far beyond the Oxus, and that by changing the entire basis of operation Turkestan has become of secondary interest, while Transcaspia is the centre of Russian activity, and Askabad and Merv will have to play the prominent part in the future policy of Russia in Central Asia.

"Such being the case, I cannot see what good can come out of the present arrangement, nor am I able to understand the satisfactory result obtained through the happily-concluded negotiation. The Russian condescension at Khoja Saleh is a very poor equivalent for your compliance on the Kushk. The strip of territory on the left bank of the Murghab and in the valley of Karshin may be just the very bit of pasture ground through which Maruchak will lose a good deal of its future vitality, while Penjdeh will gain by it, for it is no secret that Russia is doing her utmost to develop this place and to make it the main starting-point to the south. Looking at the bottom of affairs, I cannot conceal from myself the impression which the solution of the pasturage question must have made upon the Turcoman nomads. They see, whether on the Oxus or on the Kushk, it is Russia and not England which has carried her point, and, the question of pasturage having a paramount importance in their eyes, I can imagine how this event has raised their awe and respect for the White Padishah, and what must be on the other side the despair and fear of the Afghans and Jamshidis on seeing their protectors receding step after step. . . . As matters stand to-day, I am sorry to say there are very few people who are in want of fresh proofs of Russia's true intentions towards you in India, for she is indefatigable in furnishing such. At the very moment when the so-called provisional friendship had to be inaugurated, we see Iskender Khan, the declared enemy of Great Britain, employed as Russian Governor of Penjdeh and actively engaged in stirring up rebellion against your ally Abdurrahman in Herat.

"If Russia is bent upon a peaceful arrangement of frontier questions, she ought before all to delimitate a frontier to the ambition of her military officers, and perhaps also to her own

lust of conquest. The moderation she is said to have shown in the last negotiation does not and cannot edify us. The public opinion of England, noted for its ready inclination towards optimism in all that regards Asia, ought not to be lulled into a sleep of doubtful security; and in spite of the momentary joy, I venture to say that redoubled vigilance and an unrelenting continuation of defensive measures offer themselves as the best means to celebrate the newly-concluded friendship."

In fact, the Afghan question is a thousand times more important for England to settle, for it is one of those questions which will involve her vital interests. The advance of Russia in Afghanistan means danger to India in her North-West Provinces. When, in 1869, the Russians were directing their attention to the Turcomans, and preparing an attack on Khiva, Professor Vambery returned to Europe from his Central Asia tours; he came to London and visited Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, and the Bismarck of his time. He drew the attention of his lordship to the rapid advance of the Russians, but that great diplomatist replied, "My dear sir, many generations will come and go before the danger which threatens us can ever take place." All the other Ministers in England who took office after Lord Palmerston, probably viewed the advance of Russia from the same standpoint, viz., that many generations

will have to pass before Russia can obtain her object of advancing on the Indian frontier! Palmerston said this in 1870, that is to say, only 17 years ago, and yet he was the greatest diplomatist of his age; but he little thought of the military inventions of the present day, and the wonderful progress which science has made.

It is not necessary to open the Blue Books, and to quote here all the correspondence exchanged between the Russian and British Governments regarding the advance of Russia in Central Asia. It would take up too much space, and is not the object of this work; but we may say a few words on the subject.

When, in 1875, the annexation of Bokhara and Khokand caused a certain sensation in official circles in London, Lord Derby, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Mr. Doria, then Secretary of Legation at the Court of St. Petersburg, to make inquiries respecting the object of Russia in annexing those two great Khanates. Mr. Doria reported, in July, 1875, the purport of a conversation he had with Baron Jomini, late private secretary to Prince Gortchakoff. Amongst other remarks the Baron said: "If England found it to her

interest to annex Afghanistan to her Indian Empire, the Russian Government would not regard it as a menace, nor would they endeavour to prevent it ; and that therefore they could not understand why the annexation of Bokhara and Khokand should raise such excitement and alarm in England." Two years before that, viz., in 1873, the Emperor Alexander II. pledged his Imperial word that Khiva would not be molested, and in 1882, M. de Giers, the actual Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed Sir Edward Thornton, then British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, that Russia had no intention of advancing towards Merv and Sarakhs, or of occupying any territory beyond what was already in their possession ; "but," continued the Russian diplomatist, "with the view to prevent disturbances, the Russian Government considers it to be of great importance that the boundary of that country from Khoja-Salah to the Persian frontier should be definitely laid down."

That declaration was made to the English Parliament, and the official circles in London received it with satisfaction. Twelve months later, viz., in March, 1883, the Russians occupied Merv. Russia did not annex Merv, it was

Merv which annexed to it the other territories. It was those tribes of Merv who demanded the annexation, as the Russian diplomatists say, and Russia of course, they continue, would have exposed herself to danger had she refused to accede to the wishes of her faithful subjects! All the other provinces were more or less annexed until, in 1885, the Russians reached Pendjeh.

The progress of Russia in Asia dates from 1725. She had then an area of little more than 4,000,000 English square miles. She then began advancing, and although her progress was slow it was steady. There were then no roads, either military or commercial; the organisation of her army was bad, and her civil administration was considerably worse; above all, she had no diplomatists and no money. She did not dream of one day taking the whole of those powerful independent Asiatic kingdoms, but circumstances and the force of events caused her to advance. In 1867 she conquered more than 1,000,000 square miles; she had now 5,000,000 square miles of territory in those regions. The communications with Europe were still too slow, telegraphic communication

was not so vast and complete as in these days, and Europe knew but little of the movements of Russia. Things went on quietly, and, in fact, the progress of Russia in Central Asia was not looked upon seriously in Europe. Thousands of miles still divided the Russian frontier from India. Generations, as Lord Palmerston said, must pass before the English and Russians will be neighbours, but civilisation, modern inventions, events and circumstances pushed things differently. From the time of the Crimean War, and more especially since 1864, the Russians took it into their heads to advance; they thought that the best way to disturb the peace of England in Europe, and in India also, was to advance in Central Asia on the Afghan frontier. That policy Russia has continued until this present day with courage, perseverance, and, above all, with tact. Whenever England creates for Russia any difficulties, any imbroglio in Europe, she on her side creates difficulty and trouble for England in Central Asia. After the defunct treaty of Paris, England did not seem very much concerned about, nor was she aware of, the progress of Russia in Central Asia; perhaps that was on account of

the want of means of communication such as we have now-a-days. So in 1864 Russia took possession of the Khanate of Tashkand, and England received this news also with a certain indifference. The distance between that place and India was still great. John Bull saw no reason to be frightened at the Russian Bear being in Tashkand! The Russians continued progressively marching on with no one to hinder them *en route*, and in twenty years only they had conquered nearly the whole of Turkistan, including the territories of the nomad Turkomans. In December, 1870, the first stage of advance from Krasnovodsk to Kizil Aurat, a distance of 144 miles, was reached; in 1883 Khiva was annexed; then the Tekkes, a Turcoman tribe inhabiting the steppes between Kizil Aurat and Merv, were brought under subjection. Russia then annexed Khokand in 1879; they then had reached the Denghel Steppe. In 1880, the Tekkes of Goek were also conquered. The Russians successfully continuing their victories soon reached Baba Dourmak, and in 1883 took Merv, which is called in Central Asia the Queen of the East. There was a great outcry in political circles in

India when that province fell into the hands of the Russians, but that did not stop the Czar's troops from continuing their "military promenades," for in 1884 the Russians over-ran the whole country, right down to Sarakhs, and lately when Khartoum and Gordon fell into the hands of the Mahdi, they cleverly seized Pendjeh with a wonderful *coup de main*. So Russia, which in 1725 had little more than 4,000,000 English square miles in Asia, and in 1867, 5,000,000 square miles, possesses to-day the enormous area of 14,000,000 square miles. The population of the Muscovite Empire has grown in proportion, From 60,000,000, she has now surpassed the number of 100,000,000 souls. The revenue has also increased in like measure, and from £40,000,000 sterling, the quasi revenue of 1851, it has grown to nearly £90,000,000 in 1887. The Russian force in Central Asia is assuming gigantic proportions. In a country so far from Europe, from the control of the "busy-body European press," as the officials call it, Russia can have any amount of men, to whom war is the every-day business of their lives; all her movements, all her affairs, are locked up in a box, the key of which is only in the hands

of one or two clever diplomatists at St. Petersburg. She has no Parliament to control her, nor is she compelled to render account to her subjects. Her soldiers are not very courageous, there is no doubt about that ; and the organisation of her army still leaves much to be desired, but she has intelligent officers, and she is not in Europe, fighting a regular army, an organised corps, she is in Asia. Her officers are brave, and the Asiatic Turcomans, who are on her side, are one of the most courageous races in Asia. Russia being "at home," and having perfected her military and civil organisation, her lines of retreat are well established, and she is only waiting for a favourable opportunity, the slightest implication of England in Egypt, Turkey, Bulgaria, or elsewhere, to advance still further. General Auncukoff and General Pauker are undertaking the construction of the railway to Samarkand, which will be finished in two years at the latest. The London papers lately gave us the important news that the Turcoman tribes have rallied round the Russians, that several Russian agents are reported to be established in Badakshan, disguised as merchants, and finally that 3,000 Russians, under the command of an

officer from Khoki, another "diplomatic officer" probably, has arrived at Busan-Khana, one day's journey from Balkh.

That the Turkomans are actually well inclined towards Russia should be noticed, a thing which would never have been believed before, for it shows the change of Mohammedan public opinion in those regions. I say it is the more noticeable because the same inclination which exists among the Turkoman tribes in Central Asia exists also to-day in many other circles in Asia and in Egypt, where it is well known the masses are much more inclined towards Russia than they were in former years, for no other reason, I regret to say, than that they believe, unjustly of course, that England, being at this moment an enemy to Islam, is aiming at the destruction of their independence; and as they are powerless to defend themselves from such a policy, they now find in Russia an indirect element, an important and formidable power, which is going to do their work. This is, I repeat, with much regret, the opinion of the masses in Turkey, in Egypt, and in many other Mohammedan countries. I may also add, that it is

the opinion of many leading Arabs. I regret to see such false and erroneous notions about the English, noble and liberal race as they are, but I only give here these statements as reproducing those opinions which have gained credence everywhere.

A Turkish paper, *Mizan* (balance), printed at Constantinople, and representing a strong element in Turkey, published lately an article referring to English difficulties in Central Asia. The Turkish writer seeks to prove that it is only through a strict understanding with Turkey that the British Government would be able to arrive at a satisfactory issue from the actual difficulties in Afghanistan.*

* The following is a brief translation of the above-mentioned article:—"The English probably argue in this way—we are content with the benefit we had derived hitherto from India, now let our Russian brothers have their turn. But such an arguing will scarcely find approval with the majority of Englishmen, and a great war between England and Russia is hardly avoidable. Fifteen years ago England enjoyed the greatest consideration over all Central Asia, but now she is in every respect superseded by Russia, and along the whole northern part of Afghanistan the White Padishah is looked upon as the indisputable master of the destinies of the Moslem world. This feeling is rapidly spreading from Afghanistan to India, and it is hardly intelligible how a nation, which has spent millions of pounds upon the de-liberation of two missionaries in the war against Abyssinia, can exhibit such a cold indifference against an enemy knocking at the door of India, and threatening to ruin

The question is, How will India—the natives of course I mean, and more especially the Mohammedans—view the Russian advance? I regret that I have not had many opportunities of discussing the politics of India with but a few enlightened Indian gentlemen, and my knowledge of that country is limited; but I have seen, both in Turkey and in Egypt, many Sheikhs, Ulemas, and learned Arabs, who lived many years in India, and who have a certain influence with their co-religionists there, and I have had opportunities of hearing from them their views about that country.

her position in the Mohammedan world. And, further, how can it be understood that England, while using violence against a foreign Power in order to escape the inconvenience arising from closure of the Suez Canal for a few days, views with great calmness the movements of her formidable rival, hastening towards the most precious jewel of her crown? The writer goes on to say that Russia in her presentiment of the coming struggle with Great Britain has acted more wisely, and is following a policy far more suited to her ends in view, for she is now striving to put aside her 300 years' long enmity against Turkey, and shows temporary friendship in order to secure the Ottoman friendship, or at least neutrality, in the hour of need; whereas English statesmen, blind to their national interests, have of late entered the quite opposite way. Instead of assisting Turkey they are bent upon augmenting her trouble, forgetting entirely the important moral and strategical benefits which could be derived from an alliance with the Ottoman Empire in an eventual war with Russia."

They think, erroneously, of course, that Russia is coming to India in order to restore it to its ancient state. They believe that England will not seek a quarrel with Russia, and that the Emir of Afghanistan is not sincere to the British cause, and, even if he is, they know that he receives a subsidy from England of £120,000 a year; that is to say, he is a "paid Prince." They believe, too, that although the Indian Princes show the greatest respect for the British rule, they, in reality, despise it, and they would prefer, of course, a real independence to a quasi independence under severe unintelligent control, politically and administratively, and to all the decorations which the Empress-Queen bestows upon them. They say that the English in India regard the natives with disdain and contempt. Such, in a very few words, are the views of the learned sheikhs whom I spoke with respecting India. I have also seen men of Afghanistan, men of letters, philosophers, orators, who in their country exercise great influence over the masses; they give the same version of their views about British policy in Afghanistan, which is, they say, to lay hands on their country. They pointed out to me the

English action in Egypt. They believe that there will be a question in Afghanistan analogous to that of Egypt. "We will be more courageous," say they, "than the Egyptians, for we will fight, not the English, but the Emir, who is paid to sell the country." There are important Ulemas in Constantinople and Cairo who are of this opinion, and who, having seen what took place in Egypt, look at the Afghan question from the same point of view. That is why the different tribes of the Ghilzai are now in revolt against Abd-el-Rahman Khan. I merely reproduce here what I have heard from that source of information, although I do not desire to endorse the responsibility of giving them as positive facts; but my informants are persons enjoying certain respect and esteem in their own country, especially amongst the masses. At all events, I may say that the English diplomatists are not sufficiently adroit to rule Asiatics. The honesty, the good intentions, the principles of liberty, equity, and justice of an Englishman are beyond comparison with any others. These principles may be of the highest value to Europe and the Europeans, but in the far East, more especially in Central

Asia, they are not considered sufficient to govern a nation.

Asiatic people were never a constitutional race, to understand the importance of constitutional principles. The most beneficial policy which an European power could establish in Asia or Africa would be, above all, to respect the habits, customs, and creed of the people, to be in harmony with them in their manners, to treat with consideration and respect those who are so highly venerated by the masses. The power of Mohammed Ahmed, the late Mahdi in Soudan; the power of Esseid-el-Senousy, all over Tripoli of Barbary; the power of Seid El-Hadje Abd-el-Salam, the Sherif of Wazzan, in Morocco and Algiers; and many other important sheikhs, each of whom has under his rule and control millions of warriors, is a proof of the importance of my statement.

Mohammed Mahfuz, Aly of Kakori, Lucknow, late manager Raj Singahi Kheri, in a small but valuable work on India, called "The Truth about Russia and England from a Native's Point of View," a book bearing high testimony from Seid Ahmed Khan Bahadur, C.S.I., who is, I

believe, one of the most enlightened Moham-medans in India, says:—

“Thus, if you analyse the feelings of the educated native, you will find that he has both the good sense and grace to see both sides of the English rule, its good and bad features, and what is more, he does not strike the balance between the virtues and vices of that rule with any malignant feelings of race, prejudice, or ineradicable national bias, though it may suit Anglo-Saxon tastes to denounce his earnest pleading for the cause of his mute brethren as ‘fussy,’ ‘meddlesome,’ and ‘professional’ agitation. His mission is, nevertheless, a stern reality, which must assert itself in the long run. The educated native is the natural leader of his countrymen, and possesses real tangible influence with the masses. He is the proudest monument of British rule, the glorious product of the ‘golden wedding’ between the East and West.

“But there is a class of thinkers, or rather non-thinkers, whose grievances are so elaborate and vague that we regret we cannot adequately do them justice within the brief limits of this book. However, we will do our best to notice succinctly their salient features. The complaints of this murmuring class are as follows:—

“1. The English Government has deprived us of our living, and has closed against us all possible doors of employment.

“2. It has ruined our trade and local industries.

“3. It has saddled us with various imposts and taxes.

“4. The procedure of English Law Courts has looted us out of our house and home.

“5. In a word, it has reduced us to the abject condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water.”

The able writer then goes on to explain these complaints, but it is unnecessary to quote him further. I can say, however, that the views of the masses of the natives of India are quasi the same as those held by the masses of

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the Egyptians to-day, with the difference that the Egyptians believe that the English intend, not only to crush their liberty and commerce, but also their religious creed. I do not know the procedure of the English law courts in India, which has, according to the views of the masses of India, "looted them out of their house and home"; but I know that of Egyptian tribunals, and the functionaries entrusted with the laws of the country. Those functionaries are trampling down the rights of the Mohammedan creeds to such an extent that the day is not far distant when the English will repent of their folly in allowing such a dangerous policy to be pursued in a country so near to Europe.

Apropos of Indian administration, the London newspapers, of the 9th July last, give the following interesting information, under the title of "Mr. Bright on India," which is worthy of being introduced here :—

"Under the auspices of the East India Association, the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., presiding, a meeting of officers and gentlemen interested in the affairs of the British Empire in the East was held yesterday (8th July) at the Westminster Town Hall, for the purpose of considering the claims of natives for further admission into the Civil Service of India. A paper was read by Mr. A. K. Connell, a well-known writer on Indian affairs, who urged that there were overwhelming reasons for adopting some method for further associating the natives of

India in the work of administration. A discussion followed, and at its conclusion Mr. Bright delivered an address, in the course of which he pointed out that although great improvements had been effected in India during the past thirty years, there still remained the question that the natives were, with a few exceptions, so far as regarded the administration of justice, excluded from obtaining positions in the public service of high authority. He had heard, both from natives and from English lawyers, that nothing could *excel the ability, impartiality, justice, and honourable character of those lawyer natives who had been raised to high and important positions*. The native claim was built upon an immovable foundation—namely, the declarations of the Charter Bill of 1833, and upon the declarations of the Proclamation issued by the Queen at the conclusion of the Mutiny. Everybody must admit that a question based upon fundamental declarations and principles of that kind could by no means be snuffed out, but must go on to the much greater satisfaction of the minds of the Indian population than it had done up to the present time. *He could not hear with patience the utterance of some men to the effect that a country won by the sword must be ruled by the sword; and those who said this were, in his opinion, the class which would bring English rule in India to a termination much sooner than those who endeavoured to be just and generous*. In conclusion, Mr. Bright said he thought we should try, instead of force, something like moral sentiment and Christian principle in governing the countless millions who, by a mysterious dispensation, had been committed to our rule. (Cheers.)”

Such a valuable testimony requires no comment on our part. Mr. Bright has, in few words, stated all that could be said. I will refrain from making any remarks concerning the Indian princes who were in London during the Jubilee *fêtes*, who came from so great a distance to present their homage to their

Empress-Queen. I will only observe that it is an open secret in official circles in London that those princes returned to their land discontented with the way they were treated in London by those with whom they were officially brought in contact. While in Alexandria a Greek "merchant" has been made a "Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George" for having put his house at the disposition of the British High Commissioner during his few months' stay in that town, many of the Indian princes and distinguished dignitaries of India returned home without receiving the slightest distinction from Her Majesty. Yet they are the representatives of so many millions of Her Majesty's faithful subjects in India! It remains to be seen how such a policy will be received by the natives, especially under the actual political circumstances. Surely the Czar's Government would have acted with far more tact under like circumstances than the English have done. It is also a well-known fact that some of the Indian officers who came to the Jubilee *fêtes* received their promotion at Gibraltar, when on their return to India, the Governor of that place acquainted them of Her Majesty's

Government's resolution. It shows that the Cabinet here perceived their error, and tried to rectify it before those officers reached their homes. Those honours would have been much more acceptable and higher prized had they been bestowed spontaneously in London in the ordinary way.

From what I have already remarked it is an evident fact, although I regret to state it, that the influence of England, and her prestige in the East, have been superseded by those of Germany, France, and Russia—in Egypt, by those of France and Russia combined; on the Coast of Arabia, Zanzibar, &c., by that of Germany alone. In the interior of Central Asia, the Russian policy is in the ascendant. The Mohammedans there, before, and more especially since, the Crimean War, had the highest appreciation of every Englishman. They considered him a defender of Islam, and a faithful friend and ally to their Khalife the Sultan. There is no doubt that the same idea prevailed in India amongst the Mohammedans, and more especially among the Sunites, and that it was England's influence and policy in the East that gave her that strong prestige

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which is now so fast decaying since the foolish, I may say blind, policy of Mr. Gladstone in the East in general, and more particularly since the Soudan question. I have said that on all the Coast of the Red Sea, the Somalis, and Zanzibar, the prestige of England has given place to that of Germany alone. It seems curious to say this, but I have heard it from people of the most influential classes of the Mohammedans of those regions, who believe that England is a declining nation, afraid of Germany in Europe and of Russia in Asia. If I gave extracts of letters which I had from the Coast of Africa, especially Zanzibar, on this subject, I should be charged with representing only a fanatical point of view. I prefer, therefore, to give here an abstract of a letter written by Mr. Stanley to *The Times*, on board the ss. *Madura*, dated 9th March, 1887, on his way to the Congo to rescue Emin Pacha. The learned traveller says :—

“The *Oriental* arrived at Zanzibar on the 22nd of February, having touched at Lamu and Mombasa, on the coast of the mainland. There were six German vessels at anchor, commanded by Admiral Knorr. They have remained at the anchorage some time, and are likely to remain some time longer. In the old days German war vessels were scarce at Zanzibar. British cruisers then dominated these waters. The

old *London* reared her towering hull, and not far from the stately ship were anchored several gunboats, corvettes, and what not, while the harbour was alive with the smart men-of-war cutters, gigs, and launches. The British Consul-General keenly watched British interests, and everything boded well for the growth of commerce. Eight years have passed, and I return to Zanzibar to see that the British fleet has given way to a German fleet, and German traders outnumber British merchants, and there is a relentless aggressiveness about these new comers that is ominous. Their manner is not that of the English—it is haughty and overbearing, with an air of ‘you must’ about them. The natives look on with wonder, the Prince appears anxious, the English affect a superb indifference. Now, what can it all mean? I have been so engrossed with West African matters that I have been unconcerned about East Africa, and this extreme change astounds me. The French, by their characteristic audacity, strode eastward in West Africa, with a frantic haste to exclude British trade; the Portuguese clamorously pressed on northward to meet them, to rescue Africa from the ‘Ladrones’ of Britain; in East Africa I observe a shrinking of the English to make way for the more robust Teuton. I feel bewildered somewhat. I have not heard of any war or calamity whereby the British have suffered, and I know of no reason to explain this constant yielding and shrinking before noise, and bluster, and mock heroics. Why, here was Zanzibar like a ripe plum, ready to drop within the pale of British possessions as a reward of patient nourishing, and upholding of the feeble State. The British smiled kindly upon Seyyid Said, the founder; they menaced Sayyid Toorkee of Muscat because he frowned upon Seyyid Majid; they patted Majid on the back and bade him cheer up; they have made Sayyid Barghash almost a Christian, by lecturing, and scolding, and preaching. British Indian subjects crowded to the city, until to-day they are the most important portion of the population of Zanzibar, if wealth has any influence; a British Consul-General had only to say to the Prince, ‘Let it be done,’ and it was done. And, further, for forty years the British Government has undertaken to sweep the coast clean of slavers, at a cost of say £200,000 per annum, altogether about eight millions sterling;

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and from a trade of £120,000 annually, the commerce with Great Britain has risen to the value of £2,000,000. The Prince may well ask, and does ask, 'To what end was all this if you desert me now? You taught me that I was to consider myself as a *protégé* of yours; and at the first appearance of a German gunboat you abandon me.' I feel inclined to ask the same question, but the matter is really no business of mine. I confess to a sentimental regret, however, that the men whom England puts at the helm of State are so easily vanquished, and have no other thought but of retreat."

If Mr. Stanley had remained in Egypt, Turkey, Persia, or in Central Asia as long as he stayed at Zanzibar, he would have heard the same thing said about the decline of England's prestige, or the "retreat of England," as Mr. Stanley diplomatically calls it. The most important question of the day is, Who is to take England's place and prestige in the East; and what will be the consequences of this wonderful transformation—of this erroneous policy? Will the Mohammedans play a *rôle* in the events which are fast approaching, or will they remain passive? This is most important to know.

Turkey, the centre of which is Constantinople, is the *Dar el Khalafat* (the seat of the Khalifat), and is the centre of Mohammedan political circles. All the Mohammedans have their eyes turned towards her; they watch

her policy with much interest and attention, more, indeed, than the Sublime Porte and Europe may think. Turkey in her policy has also to consult the high Mohammedan elements, the tribunal of Islam. She must learn and weigh the views of the Egyptians, those of Arabia and North of Africa—I mean Tripoli and her vast Arabian provinces, and Medina, the heart of the whole of Islam, the Rome of the bigoted Catholics of the middle ages.

The actual views of those Mohammedans are, that a sentimental alliance is not sufficient for them, they want an alliance of reciprocal interest. They wish for an alliance more tangible and less selfish ; they believe that the actual state of Turkey, of which Egypt is an integral part, is caused by England's policy—directly or indirectly. They say that Mr. Gladstone is a bitter enemy to Islam, notwithstanding the millions of Mohammedans England rules over in India. I cannot believe in this theory. It may be the policy of some short-sighted English diplomatists, but I have known enlightened Englishmen, English diplomatists, who are really the friends of Islam. They are work-

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ing for an *entente* with Turkey ; they are trying to regain their traditional policy, to forget the past, and to pave the way for a more sound and honest policy for the future ; they know that it is to their advantage to do so. The interest between England and Islam is reciprocal ; Turkey, as a strong military Power, is a great element to preserve the balance of power in Europe in favour of England, and England, on her side, as a strong naval Power, could guarantee the complete integrity of the Ottoman Empire ; but the good intentions and interests should be of mutual advantage.

England's efforts in seeking the friendship of Turkey do not, it seems, appear to be sufficiently sincere. England's policy of Downing Street may be quite different from that of her officials in Cairo, and perhaps at Constantinople. While declaring in her Convention that the territory of Turkey is that which is mentioned in the Firmans, she allows Italy to grasp those vast Turko-Egyptian regions in the Red Sea—Massowa and all its neighbouring territories. If England desires to succeed in her policy in Turkey, she must insist that the Mohammedan element of Egypt, which has an immense

influence over *Dar el Khalafat*, be not in the hands of an element which is a bitter enemy to the Turks and to Islam generally, as it is now. On the contrary, England must respect the *amour propre* of the Egyptians, and endeavour to remove from their minds the erroneous ideas they have about England; but if England insists upon this being the case, the Egyptians may perhaps submit tacitly and reluctantly to their destiny, but England will feel the effect of this cruel and ungenerous policy, not only in the Egyptian question, properly speaking, but in others of more serious importance. English diplomatists—those who have in their hands the destiny of the British nation—should know that the whole Mohammedan world have their eyes turned upon Egypt; that they follow with attention the English policy there. England must use in the East such diplomacy as that which is the *avant garde* of Russia in Central Asia. England, if she cannot exercise such diplomacy, if she has no competent men to represent her, then must she keep a strong army in Egypt, for events are preparing in Europe and in Central Asia, where the Mohammedan element must and will have a

rôle. The English have only to decide whether the Mohammedans are to be their friends or foes, but that will depend not on their word alone, but on their acts ; and Cairo must be the *point de départ* of their new line of policy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HAJ, OR THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA—ITS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL OBJECT.

"I expect these improvident people killed over 1,000 sheep at the 'Bairam'; the report is that it exceeded that number." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 100.)

THE great Mohammedan feast, the "Kourban Bairam" as it is called in Turkey, which is devoted to slaughtering sheep by all Islam, corresponded this year to the 28th of August. It must have been on this occasion a very imposing ceremony, and one of a much more important character than any of the late "Bairams." The whole of the Mohammedan pilgrims were gathered on Mount Arafat, and 100,000 souls, the representatives of 170,000,000 of Islam, were exercising their religious duties. It is a great mistake to think that the object of this pilgrimage is merely for religious purposes. The Haj has several other objects, humanitarian, political, social, and commercial—humanitarian, because every Mohammedan

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in every corner of the Mohammedan world of the least means is obliged to kill a sheep on the morning of the feast.

It can readily be imagined how many millions of sheep are slaughtered that day by the believers in this widespread religion. Persons of high distinction do not confine themselves to a single animal, but slaughter several. The Sultan sacrifices some hundreds; Ministers some dozens, and so on, everyone according to his means. The meat of these animals is distributed to the poor, and so all the needy, whether in Mecca or any other Mohammedan country, have a feast that day. Suppose that in London some 200,000 sheep were slaughtered on Christmas Day by the opulent class, and distributed to the poor, what a blessing that would be in many a poverty-stricken home! Surely the gratitude of the recipients would be overwhelming. The social, commercial, and political aspect of the pilgrimage lies in this: all the Mohammedan world who have means to visit the sacred cities, Mecca and Medina, are obliged to do so. The Koran compels them, unless there are family, financial, or other important reasons to prevent them from travel-

ling. Thousands of Mohammedans flock from all parts of the world, all the caravans are in motion for months, arriving from India, Persia, Syria, Turkey, the coasts of Africa, &c. Malays from Java; Tartars from Central Asia; Arabs from the French Sahara; Mussulmans from Central Africa and from China; in a word, all Mohammedans flock to Mecca, either by sea or by caravans. At certain times, and from some places, caravans used to take five months in travelling to Mecca, and five months in the return journey home, so that it was nearly a year's work to go to Mecca and return. All these caravans rendered the road open to commerce and to travellers, but since the invention of steam, and the great facilities afforded by navigation, the caravans are getting much out of date. From Turkey, Syria, the north of Africa, India, and on every sea-coast where Mohammedans exist, the pilgrims take steamers and go to Jeddah direct, from whence they take caravans to Mecca.

From Jeddah to Mecca the caravans travel at night, on account of the extreme heat during the day. They leave Jeddah with great pomp in the cool of the evening, and the next day at

dawn they reach a place called Hadda, which is considered half way ; they remain at Hadda all day, leave it at sunset, and reach Mecca the next morning ; the distance therefore between Jeddah and Mecca is only about twenty-four hours' journey. The pilgrimage which from Tunis to Mecca in former days took three or four months, can now be performed in fifteen days. The number of Mohammedans on the face of the globe, as well as the pilgrims who are obliged to recognise this religious duty, according to statistics, is as follows :—

The Haj, or the Pilgrimage to Mecca. 135

TABLE OF THE MECCA PILGRIMAGE OF 1880.*

Nationality of Pilgrim.	Arriving by Sea.	Arriving by Land.	Total of Mussul- man population represented.
Ottoman subjects, including pil- grims from Syria and Irak, but not from Egypt or Arabia proper	8,500	1,000	22,000,000
Egyptians	5,000	1,000	5,000,000
Mogrebins ("people of the West"); that is to say, Arabic- speaking Mussulmans from the Barbary States, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco. These are always classed together, and are not easily distinguishable from each other.....	6,000	...	18,000,000
Arabs from Yemen	3,000	...	2,500,000
" " Oman and Hadramant	3,000	...	3,000,000
" " Nejd, Assir, and Hasa, most of them Wahhabites ...	...	5,000	4,000,000
Arabs from Hejaz, of these per- haps 10,000 Meccans .....	...	22,000	2,000,000
Negroes from Soudan	2,000	...	10,000,000 (?)
" " Zanzibar.....	1,000	...	1,500,000
Malabari from the Cape of Good Hope	150	...	...
Persians	6,000	2,500	8,000,000
Indians (British subjects).....	15,000	...	40,000,000
Malays, chiefly from Java and Dutch subjects	12,000	...	30,000,000
Chinese	100	...	15,000,000
Mongols from the Khanates, included in the Ottoman Haj.	...	...	6,000,000
Lazis, Circassians, Tartars, &c. (Russian subjects, included in the Ottoman Haj) .....	...	...	5,000,000
Independent Afghans and Belu- chis, included in the Indian and Persian Hajs .....	...	...	3,000,000

Total of Pilgrims present at Arafat... 93,250

Total census of Islam 175,000,000

* From "The Future of Islam," by Wilfrid S. Blunt.

This assemblage, as you will see, is grand and imposing, an assembly of one hundred thousand devotees gathered together in the Holy Land, representing 170,000,000 of the followers of Islam! It is a general assembly, a House of Parliament, with deputies from all parts of the world, and, making allowance for a large portion of the common class, it will be found that there are many thousands of people of influence and distinction who meet every year at the sacred shrine. It is those thousands of persons who hold communication with each other, as representatives of their brethren of different far-off lands. The Central Asiatic pilgrim will see his co-religionist from Morocco, notwithstanding those thousands of miles, those oceans and mountains which divide them. The Afghans will meet with the Egyptians; the Turkomans of Central Asia with the Turks of Asia Minor; the Arabs of Somalis with those of Bournou. The Moors of Morocco will know as much about Central Asia as anybody else; the pilgrims of the Arabian coast will learn all about Darfour and the Soudan; the Soudanese will learn all about Caucasia and the Afghans; in short, in this grand pell-mell assembly, all the

Mohammedans will inquire, and obtain a knowledge of what is going on in the world—even in the European world. At Mecca, also, they receive Mohammedan Arabic periodicals, which acquaint them with European politics; all that the *Journal de St. Petersburg* says about Afghanistan; all that Katkoff said about Germany; all that Gladstone says about the Turks. The Haj of this year most curiously coincided with the day when the ratification of the Egyptian Convention was rejected by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. The pilgrims can discuss all matters, they can judge the past, present, and future, they can form an idea of what the policy of next year may be, and how far Islam may be involved in it. If a pilgrim is unable to attend the Haj one year, he will know all that goes on in that great assembly, from the neighbour who has taken his place. The Emir of Mecca, the Grand Sherif, a descendant from the Prophet, is nominated to that high position by the Sultan, the supreme Khalife of Islam. The Indian Mohammedan princes, the emirs of Arabia, the great sheikhs of the different tribes, persons of high rank, are his guests during those religious fêtes. He treats his welcome visitors with that

consideration and respect which are only to be found in those regions. He gives religious entertainments with Oriental grandeur and luxury. Banquets are held in their honour, and the Grand Sherif endeavours to make the visit of his noble guests as agreeable as possible. They return home with high appreciation of the noble hospitality they have enjoyed. The Princes of India act very generously towards that Holy Land, and they have, and always will have, a bright page in the history of Islam for their vast munificence, and they have gained in the Mohammedan world great respect, consideration, and esteem. A Mohammedan Prince of India going to the Haj will spend some thousands of pounds in presents to the sheikhs and gifts to the poor ; everybody will benefit by his generosity during his visit. The Grand Sherif himself is highly remunerated by his Khalife the Sultan. He pays him a fixed allowance of about £10,000 a year, but he grants him also extra income from the "Vacoufs" (the revenue of the pious' property) to the extent of £10,000 more, so that his yearly income really amounts to £20,000, and about £50,000 more are sent yearly from Constantinople to the sherifs, sheikhs,

nobility, and students of Mecca. This sum is sent by a special caravan, with the greatest official pomp, in charge of a high official of the Sublime Porte, chosen by the Sultan. A great civil and military escort follows him; this is called the "Surra Humaïoune," or "Imperial Purse," which is sent from Constantinople (Scutari) in a special Government steamer to Beyrout, from Beyrout it goes by land to Damascus, and from thence to Mecca, accompanied by a great military escort, in order to keep the roads free from any disturbance, and add to the religious ceremony a greater *éclat*.

Many steamers are also placed at the disposal of the pilgrims by the Sultan for those Hajjis desiring to go to the Holy Land gratis, either *viâ* Beyrout or Jeddah. In short, the aid given by the Ottoman Government to the Holy Lands, Mecca and Medina, in money and other ways, amounts to at least £100,000 a year. Besides this, the inhabitants of those regions have many privileges. They are not incorporated in the army; they all receive monthly allowances from the Imperial Treasury; letters, papers, &c., are sent to them free; and they are permitted to receive their allowance either in

Mecca, Medina, Constantinople, or any other province of the Ottoman Empire. Certain Arab tribes between Jeddah and Mecca receive a contribution in order to ensure a safe conduct to the pilgrims. The Bey of Tunis, the Sultan of Morocco, the Sultan of Zanzibar, all send their small *surras*; every Mohammedan Prince according to the means of his State, contributes to these sacred places. The Egyptian Government sends a good supply of grain, not from the Public Treasury, but from the income of the Mosques, the "Vacoufs," which are independent of Government control or interference.

The Haj this year must have had an extraordinary political influence. The Mohammedans were never more concerned: they have lost many provinces, the march of Russia in Afghanistan, and the presence of the English troops on the Nile, and the abortive Convention of Egypt, are exciting the interest of the whole Mohammedan world. There must have been at Mecca this year some of the Ghilzais tribes, and others of Cabul and Merv, who must have explained many delicate points and facts to their co-religionists.

The Egyptian question is being very widely

discussed ; many Indian natives will of course have explained their views about their country to their brethren ; in fact, all the Mohammedans have been indirectly united in the centre of Mohammedanism, and learnt all questions of interest pending throughout that world. On their return they will give their opinion to their co-religionists, who will judge the matters which concern them, and exercise great influence on the events of an approaching and not far distant future.

CHAPTER V.

THE EGYPTIAN CONVENTION, AND CAUSE OF ITS FAILURE.

AFTER twelve months of negotiation between Sir Henry Drummond Wolff at Cairo and Constantinople with the Foreign Office on one side, and between him and the Ottoman High Commissioners at Cairo and Constantinople on the other, the end of the negotiations in Egyptian matters was a failure. As I have already explained in another place, the object of the British Commissioner's mission to Constantinople was not meant only for Egyptian affairs but for other objects of a more important character. The Egyptian Convention was the *point de départ* for a more developed understanding between England and Turkey, in short, to consolidate more thoroughly England's interests in the East, in the event of further complication which might present itself in European or Asiatic disputes. The Russian diplomatists] at St. Petersburg and Constanti-

nople, who, at the commencement of negotiations understood but too well what England was aiming at, worked cleverly with France at Constantinople to isolate Turkey from England and Germany, and thus get her on the side of Russia and France, to keep her apart at least from all European quarrels, or, in other words, to maintain her neutrality as cleverly as she did in the spring of 1885.

But the Sublime Porte was quite as much interested in the settlement of the Egyptian question as England, not only because it was for Turkey a matter of the highest political importance, affecting the vital interest of the Ottoman Empire, but also because it was a question which was interesting the Mohammedan world in general, and more especially the Arab subjects of the Sultan. His Imperial Majesty therefore at first lent a favourable ear to the English proposition, and expressed his sincere desire to arrive at an understanding with England, in order to remove the *ill-feeling* which existed between the two Governments since the bombardment of Alexandria and the dispatch of English troops to Egypt, and renew relations on a solid and cordial basis.

For this object Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was sent by the English Government to Constantinople, to enter into negotiations with the Porte, to draw up a new Convention respecting Egyptian affairs, as was stipulated in the first Convention of October, 1885; in fact, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, writing to Lord Salisbury from Pera on May 1, 1886, on this subject says :—

“The two Ministers (the Grand Vizier and the Minister for Foreign Affairs) spoke to me in the most serious manner as to the situation. They said that they were both most anxious for the Convention, as, the Egyptian question at rest, England and Turkey could more easily come to an understanding *on other important matters.*”

That meant, in other words, that the *entente cordiale* which should exist between the two Governments greatly depended on the settlement of the Egyptian question.

Sir H. D. Wolff, writing also to Lord Salisbury from Pera, May 26, says :—

“At the time great irritation had been created in many quarters by the so-called Egyptian question. The disembarkation of British troops in Egypt (His Excellency should have added ‘and the bombardment of Alexandria’) and the failure of Hassan Pacha Fehmy to bring about any solution, had indisposed the minds of the Turks to their old ally.”

The support which Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy gave to the object of the

Convention was animated by the desire to induce Turkey to enter into the quadruple alliance. In fact, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, writing to Lord Salisbury on April 7, 1887, says also :—

“I learn from the Austrian Ambassador that he has been instructed to urge upon the Sultan and the Porte the acceptance of the proposals of Her Majesty's Government.”

And on April 2, writing also to the English Premier, Sir Henry says :—

“Yesterday I returned the visit of Baron Blanc, the new Italian Ambassador, with whom I had a long conversation. His Excellency told me that his instructions were to assist me in every possible way ; he was most cordial and friendly, and said that his Government fully approved of the proposals we had made to the Porte.”

Mr. T. C. Kennedy, writing from Rome to Lord Salisbury on May 2, 1887, says :—

“I have to report that, in accordance with the instructions contained in your lordship's despatch of the 12th ult., I addressed a note to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, offering to His Excellency the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the valuable support which the Italian representative had given to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff in the course of his negotiations with the Porte. In his reply to the above note, M. Depretis, after thanking me beyond measure, said that ‘our representative, faithfully interpreting the instructions of the Royal Government, had taken care to afford useful co-operation to Her Majesty's Commissioners charged to negotiate with the Sublime Porte for the settlement of Egyptian affairs.’”

Sir A. Paget, writing on April 14, 1887, from Vienna, to the Marquis of Salisbury, says :—

"In the interview I had with the Count Kálnoky yesterday, I informed His Excellency that Sir H. D. Wolff, having reported to your Lordship that the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople had received instructions to support the negotiations he was carrying on at the Porte, I had been desired by your lordship to express to His Excellency the warm acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for his friendly assistance. Count Kálnoky replied that it had given him great pleasure to send these instructions. He had never at any time, as I was aware, been opposed to England having a predominant position in Egypt; he believed that the Egyptian question was the one obstacle to the establishment of perfect confidence in England on the part of the Sultan; that he would gladly see this confidence fully restored, and that he had therefore not only sent instructions to Baron de Galice in this sense, but he had spoken strongly to Aly Nizami Pacha when he came to Vienna from Berlin (where he had been deputed to convey the Sultan's congratulations to the Emperor William on his 90th birthday) upon the great importance of Turkey coming to an amicable settlement of Egyptian affairs with Her Majesty's Government, and their placing the relations between Turkey and England on the most friendly footing."

On April 22, Lord Salisbury authorised Sir A. Paget to express to Count Kálnoky Her Majesty's Government's thanks for the fresh proof of His Excellency's friendly sentiments towards England. Another important despatch from Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to Lord Salisbury, dated Pera, April 8, runs thus:—

"Yesterday I called on the Austrian Ambassador. His Excellency read me a telegram from Count Kálnoky, of which he had previously given a summary to Sir William White. It highly approved the step taken by Baron de Galice to recommend to the Porte the favourable reception of the proposals of Her Majesty's Government in respect of Egypt, and it further in-

structed His Excellency to press them both on the Minister and the Sultan, as it was the wish of the Austro-Hungarian Government that England should be on good terms with Turkey. A satisfactory solution of this question is, in the opinion of Count Kálnoky, 'the best means to that end.'"

It is, therefore, no secret that both Austria-Hungary and Italy were working in Constantinople for a good result of the negotiations between Turkey and England.

Although Germany's support is in no way mentioned in Sir Henry's despatch to the Foreign Office (which shows that Prince Bismarck acted with much prudence in this question, and has taken good care not to compromise himself in any way), yet it is a known fact that the German Ambassador at Constantinople pursued the same line of policy as his Austrian and Italian colleagues.*

* In an interview which a reporter of *The Morning Post* had with Sir Henry Drummond Wolff on August 1, regarding the failure of the Convention, as to which Power had assisted him in his mission during his stay at Constantinople, Sir Henry said: "The Ambassadors of Germany, Italy, and Austria strongly urged the Sultan in the first instance to sign the Convention, and later on the ratification, and the three Governments have expressed themselves in terms highly favourable to the settlement aimed at by the Convention. I received much assistance from these Powers, all of whom are largely interested both in the finance and commerce of Egypt, and it is for them urgently necessary that some system may be established which will guarantee Egypt against internal disorder or invasion from without."

What is more surprising is, that when Austria-Hungary and Italy expressed approval of England's proposals to the Porte, such proposals were then in their infancy. The Turkish Commissioners were opposing them, for it was not until the end of May that the *Projet de Convention* was brought to a conclusion between the two parties. It is most probable that had Italy been aware of Article II. of the Convention, which states "that the Khediviat of Egypt comprises the territories set forth in the Imperial Firman concerning Egypt," which, of course, included Massowah, &c., she would have viewed it in a different light, and might have called the attention of the British Government to the Article.

The ratification of the Convention having failed, the Sultan has been severely criticised in London. Certain politicians desire to throw blame on His Majesty for having refused to ratify the Convention, because, after it had been exhaustively discussed, it had been approved under the sanction of the highest authority of State at Constantinople ; in plainer words, the Sultan refused to ratify a Convention which was signed by the Grand Vizier and by his own

Imperial order. The reason why this Convention was signed and not ratified is clear and simple. When, in 1885, the British Government made overtures to the Sultan to prepare a Convention on Egyptian affairs, His Imperial Majesty welcomed this proposition with pleasure, and showed the best disposition to come to an arrangement with England for two reasons—first, for the prosperity of Egypt, and, second, from a wish to dispel that ill-feeling which existed between England and Turkey, and thus to create a new state of things which would be undoubtedly for the benefit of both countries.

Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was named by Her Majesty's Government High Commissioner, and, thanks to the good sense of the Sultan and his Commissioners, as well as that of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, both parties arrived at a favourable conclusion, and the Convention was signed on October 24, 1885, according to which, each of the two contracting parties were to send a High Commissioner to Cairo to discuss the measures that should be taken for the final settlement of the Egyptian question.*

Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha was chosen

* See Appendix.

by the Sultan as his Commissioner, and the British Government again named Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to represent it. The two Commissioners went to Egypt, and in the presence of the Khedive discussed all questions relating to Egyptian affairs. Both of the Commissioners reported to their respective Governments the result of their mission.

I may add here that the relations between Moukhtar Pacha and Sir Henry were always on the most cordial footing. It was stated in the Convention that after the mission of the two Commissioners at Cairo had come to an end, a new Convention was to be signed between England and Turkey, regulating *definitely* the affairs of Egypt. Sir Henry, therefore, returned to London to report to Lord Salisbury personally on his mission. He left London again for Constantinople to negotiate with the Sublime Porte for the final settlement of this question and for the new Convention. Sir Henry arrived at Constantinople in the beginning of January this year, and immediately after his arrival the Sultan appointed as High Commissioners Kiamil Pacha, the Grand Vizier, and Saïd Pacha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

After about four months of negotiation, the two contracting parties came to a final understanding, and the new Convention was definitely signed by the Commissioners on May 22 last, and one month was allowed for its ratification.*

The Sultan could not, of course, tell what impression that Convention would make on the European Powers, the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, and more especially on the Mohammedan world.

There is no doubt that the Sultan, as Sultan and Khalife, must take into consideration the Moslem public opinion, and not do anything which might injure their feelings. In fact, the Marquis of Salisbury, writing to Sir W. White, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, on January 13, 1887, says:—

"The Turkish Ambassador called to-day, and stated that he had again received instruction to urge Her Majesty's Government to expedite their promised action in relation to the affairs of Egypt. The Porte had desired him to point out that the delay which is taking place is weighing heavily on *the Sultan's mind* by reason of the *anxiety* which it causes amongst the *Mohammedan population*."

I merely reproduce here these statements to show that, throughout the whole of the Egyptian question, the Sultan has been

* See Appendix.

endeavouring to study the Mussulman public opinion and views, and to act for the best in their interest.

Hardly had the Commissioners of both parties come to an agreement, and the tenor of the Convention been known to the Mohammedan public in general, than it created a sorrowful impression on them, more especially on the Arabs. They saw in it an instrument which might make the British occupation of Egypt more legal; the consequence of which would be to create a bad impression in Syria and Tripoli of Barbary, the adjacent provinces of Egypt. I myself was in Cairo when that Convention was signed, and can state, from my own personal observation, that the high Mohammedan circles there, as well as distinguished Arabs of Arabia, viewed it with contempt, and preferred the *statu quo* of Egypt to the new settlements.*

Article V. was understood by them as giving England authoritative permission and right to occupy Egypt by the express will of the Sultan ;

* "Moukhtar Pacha has reported that public opinion in Cairo, and throughout the vassal province, is highly pleased at the failure of the negotiations with England, and that Ottoman *prestige* has gained ground considerably by that result." (*Times*' telegram from Constantinople, August 6, 1887.)

they believed that under the actual *régime* order could not be restored in Egypt, and that therefore the British troops would not be able to leave the country ; on the contrary, they would make their stay there permanent, and England would hold in her hands a Firman from the Sultan to remain there as long as it suited her purpose to do so.

The actual Government—the Conservatives—are no doubt sincere towards the Sultan, and would do all in their power not to misinterpret what they meant when they signed the Convention, for naturally everything would depend upon the *bonâ-fide* application of its terms. But somebody may come into office, and may give to the above Article such an interpretation as circumstances and events may in his opinion best suit England at the time.* The least provocation by an interested non-Mohammedan element may be interpreted as a cause of "internal disorder," and consequently as a reason for non-evacuation.

A Convention, the terms of which can be

* " 'Man proposes, God disposes.' Anyone who two and a half years ago had said that the Gladstone Ministry would not only go to Egypt, and, not content with one expedition to the Soudan (Graham's), would go in for *two expeditions*, would have been scouted as a madman." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 71.)

interpreted by diplomatists in various ways, will always be in favour of the stronger party of the signatories. Taking into consideration that Russia—which is a great adjacent military Power, and with whom Turkey is interested to live on the best terms, lest she find a pretext for further mutilating the Treaty of Berlin—protested against the Convention; and France, which is a great Naval Power, declared that such an agreement would give her liberty of action for the defence of her interest in the Mediterranean.*

In fact, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, writing to Lord Salisbury from Pera, on May 6, 1887—that is to say, long before the signature of the Convention—the abstract of a conversation he had with the Grand Vizier, in the course of which he, Sir Henry, says:—

“I replied that the three Powers, viz., Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, were in favour of our proposals. France had expressed herself ready to entertain any scheme for permanently securing the peace of Egypt without the preponderance of any one Power, and it was not likely that Russia, having no important interests in Egypt, would set herself alone against a reasonable arrangement which recommended itself to the good sense of all the other Great Powers.”

It was on May 6 that the British Commis-

* “I cannot see why France would object if we let her have some ‘say’ in Egypt. She will thwart all we do there, unless we do let her have a ‘say.’” (“Gordon’s Journal,” p. 97.)

sioner wrote those words to Lord Salisbury, and on May 22 the Convention was signed. On the previous day, May 21, Sir Henry, writing to Lord Salisbury, says :—

“ M. de Nelidow (the Russian Ambassador), whom I saw last night, questioned me as to the course of the negotiations. I answered him that some portion of the proposals, if accepted by the Turks, would be submitted later to an international sanction. His Excellency said that the policy of Russia in Egypt was to maintain the sovereign rights of the Sultan, and to prevent any infringement of them by other Powers. His Government therefore regarded an abnormal state of things which was transitory, with less disfavour than it would a permanent arrangement which should diminish or interfere with the Sultan's rights. I said that nothing of the kind was intended, and that as in the first Convention the sovereignty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan was fully recognised, so by our present proposals, if adopted, his rights would be firmly established.”

Two weeks before, viz., on May 4, the Marquis of Salisbury had written to Viscount Lyons, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, saying :—

“ I had some conversation to-day with the French Ambassador respecting Egyptian affairs. He asked me whether it was true, as the newspapers reported, that Sir H. D. Wolff had been instructed to propose to the Turkish Government that five years should be the period within which the withdrawal of the British troops should take place. I replied that that suggestion had been discussed, but that nothing was settled. To this His Excellency replied that his Government would be prepared to acquiesce in a proposal fixing the term at three years. I informed M. Waddington that this was a matter on which considerable difference of opinion existed in this country, but I impressed upon him that a stipulation for the re-entry of British troops in

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case of necessity was the point on which Her Majesty's Government most insisted, and that we had no intention of leaving Egypt until that had been conceded. His Excellency said that in our previous conversations in November last, this point had been conceded in principle, and that all that required to be settled was the conditions under which the right was to be exercised. I replied that this was one of the cases where the principle was easily effaced by unfavourable conditions."

It is therefore quite clear that both the French and the Russian Ambassadors at Constantinople had taken an unfavourable view of the contents of the Convention long before it was known, and hardly was it notified to them than they agitated heaven and earth against the Ottoman Government for signing such an agreement. They considered that Egypt, being a part of the Ottoman Empire, guaranteed by the Treaty of Berlin, no serious understanding between Turkey and England on Egyptian affairs, would be considered legal without the approbation of the great signatory Powers, and that in the event of an understanding taking place between two parties, without the consent of the others, it would give to the latter a certain liberty of action for the defence of their interest in the East.*

* Egypt used to be important, we think it always so. Whereas the introduction of steam has quite altered its importance, while the creation of other Naval Powers in the Mediterranean renders that sea no longer a question of supremacy of France or England." ("Gordon's Journal.")

France pushed on matters still further. The Count de Montebello, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, wrote on the 19th of June, directly to His Majesty the Sultan, in the following terms :—

“Sire,—The French Government has finally decided not to accept the situation which would result from the ratification of the Egyptian Convention. If this ratification be given, the French Government will direct its attention to the safeguarding of its own interests, prejudiced as they will be by the rupture of the equilibrium in the Mediterranean, and to this end will take the measures which it may deem necessary. In the contrary case—that is to say, if your Imperial Majesty should not ratify the said Convention—the French Ambassador is authorised by his Government to give to your Imperial Majesty the absolute and formal assurance that the French Government will preserve and guarantee your Imperial Majesty from the consequences, whatever they may be, which may arise from the non-ratification of the Convention. Your Imperial Majesty, having consequently no longer to entertain any doubt in this respect, would not only give joy and satisfaction to the Mussulman peoples by not ratifying an arrangement which justifiably causes them great uneasiness and anxiety, but would also confirm and strengthen the ties of ancient friendship between your Imperial Majesty's Empire and France. It is only the disinterested policy of France which can safeguard the Ottoman Empire in view of the encroachments and ambitious desires of England. Trusting that the maintenance of the friendship above referred to will be regarded by your Imperial Majesty as much more advantageous,

“I avail myself of this occasion, &c.,

“MONTEBELLO.”

“June 7-19, 1887.

From what I have stated, it is shown in the most conclusive manner that the Mohammedan

anxiety which was weighing heavily on the mind of the Sultan, as Rustem Pacha declared to Lord Salisbury, was against the ratification of the Convention, and two great military and naval powers, signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, were also against it. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the Sultan to go against such a powerful element, without exposing the Empire to serious agitation and exterior complication.

In fact, Sir H. D. Wolff confirmed these statements, for in writing to Lord Salisbury from Pera, on May 26, he said: "On many points the Turkish Ministers were bound to regard not only the political bearing of the proposals made to them, but the effect they might produce on the *religious feeling* of the Mussulmans, which is the *chief ingredient* of public opinion in Turkey." It would therefore be quite unjust to tax the Porte or the Sultan as being opposed to England, simply because he respected the views of so many millions of his Mohammedan faithful subjects, and because he did not take the advice of England, and so expose himself to the risk of weakening the friendship of two great Powers,

with both of whom it is to the interest of Turkey to be on good terms.

Notwithstanding the confident and confirming telegrams that were continually sent from Constantinople to the British press, I myself assured many high officials in London, based on the information I had from Constantinople, that the Sultan-Khalife could not go against such a strong current of Mohammedan feeling, and that the Convention would be a failure.

Let us now see to what extent this Convention might have created difficulties.

Article I. states that "The Imperial Firmans at present in force in Egypt are confirmed, except in so far as they may be modified by the present Convention."

This Article gives Egypt the right of having an army of 18,000 men in time of peace, as is stipulated in the Firmans given to Egypt, while Sir Henry Drummond Wolff in his dispatches to the Foreign Office from Cairo and Constantinople contested the right of Egypt having that number, under pretence of financial considerations. In the counter-propositions which the Sublime Porte presented to Sir Henry on the 15th of April, the Grand Vizier distinctly stated

"that a standing army of 18,000 men was necessary for Egypt, while the British Commissioner only agreed to half that number."

Article II. states that "the territory of Egypt comprises those countries named in the Imperial Firmans concerning Egypt."

We can only understand by this Article that Egypt includes to-day all the territories which Downing Street described as the "lost provinces;" in other words, it includes not only Egypt proper, but also the Soudan—East and West—as well as the equatorial provinces, Khartoum, Kordofan, Gondokoro, and, above all, Massowah, which is now in Italian hands.*

* "It may not be generally known, but by the Firman which named Tewfik (Khedive of Egypt), there is an express injunction that no part of the Egyptian territory is to be ceded except by permission of the Porte. Also by the Treaty of Paris, and also by that of Berlin, the integrity of the Ottoman Dominion is guaranteed by the Powers. What a farce it is to say Egypt ceded Kassala!" ("Gordon's Journal," p. 156.)

"This is a miserable country, but it is joined to Egypt, and to my idea it would be difficult to divorce the two." ("Gordon's Journal," p. 78.)

"As regards the future government of the Soudan, and especially of Khartoum, Her Majesty's Government would be glad to see a Government at Khartoum, which, so far as all matters connected with the internal administration of the country are concerned, would be 'wholly independent' of Egypt." ("Lord Wolseley's Instructions," Egypt No. 34, 1884.)

How England could compel Italy to give back that province to Egypt is beyond comprehension ; we are therefore forced to conclude that this Article, as well as Article I., would have remained for Turkey "dead letters," whilst England would have executed the other Articles which were in her own favour. The Italians are always in a state of anxiety in the Red Sea ; they have sent a mission to King Menelek at Shoa, in order to come to an understanding with him for a mutual alliance against King John of Abyssinia, before beginning any military operations against Ras-Alula ; but that mission has just come to an abortive termination, and with its return has been dispelled the hope of the alliance with King John, upon which the Italians were relying to a great extent for the maintenance of their possessions in the Red Sea, which England gave as "backshish" to Italy in 1884—the price of her friendship. From Count Antonelli's report it appears that although King Menelek is practically independent, he has recently renewed his oath of allegiance to King John, and General Saletta has proposed in consequence that Italian operations be rigidly restricted to the defence of

the littoral. From the last news it seems also that Italy is contemplating sending an army of 10,000 men to the Red Sea. We cannot pronounce yet the object of this expedition ; it may have the same consequences as the English expedition to the Soudan. Although there is no doubt of the courage and bravery of the Italian troops, as well as the high capacity and talent of their officers, yet the climate of that country may have a great effect upon the military operations of the Italians. What Gordon said about the wretched peasants of the Soudan—who are “determined warriors, who can undergo thirst and privation, who no more care for pain or death than if they were of stone”—can be said of the brave Abyssinians.

It is known that England contemplates mediating between Italy and the King of Abyssinia, but it is also stated that Russia contemplates sending a special mission to King John. It is expected that in this affair Russia will be much more successful than were England and Italy last year. Instead of sending a diplomatic mission, Russia is about to send a religious one, composed of a “diplomatical archimandrite,” three priests and a number of

inferior clergy ; and instead of taking with them a sword of honour, or "national goods," they are to take some church vessels of *great value*, and religious books. We must wait to see the consequence of this Russian "diplomatico-religious" mission to Abyssinia, and the effect it will have on Italy's policy in Europe, whether it will place Italy in the Red Sea in a quasi-similar position as Russia has placed England in Central Asia ; at any rate, the Russian mission to Abyssinia will make the mediation of England between Italy and Abyssinia a complete failure.

Article V. states that "the English troops may be withdrawn in three years, *provided* there is no '*appearance*' of danger in the interior or from 'without,'" which means that if there is such appearance of danger, the British troops will remain until it has disappeared.

It is perfectly certain that under the actual *régime* no order would be restored, and the least disorder created by an element interested in the continuation of the British occupation in Egypt would be interpreted as a reason for allowing the English troops to remain there, while England has in her hands strong

arguments in her favour, as set forth in Articles III. and IV.

But there is something else more important in Article V., which is enough to make the Convention fall through at once ; in fact, it says clearly, "On the ratification of the present Convention, the Great Powers shall be invited to sign an act recognising and guaranteeing the inviolability of 'Egyptian territory.'"

As Russia and France have already protested against the Convention, it is much better that their protest should have occurred before the ratification than after. In any case, this Article alone is sufficient to break down the whole Convention.

CHAPTER VI.

RECENT DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT ON THE EGYPTIAN CONVENTION.

IN the debate which took place in Parliament on the 11th of August last, concerning Egyptian matters, the above Convention was fully discussed by several of the Members with much discernment, they having evidently studied the question in all its bearings. We may here make short abstracts of some of the most interesting observations which were made on that occasion, and which are singularly confirmative of what already appears in these pages.

Mr. Labouchere said :—

“ It was wrong to endeavour to negotiate a treaty with the Sultan, without first obtaining the views of those Powers with whom we had been concerned previously in all matters affecting Egypt.

“ It was a fault to negotiate when we were aware that nothing would be valid without the assent of Europe, and to negotiate in such a manner that the arrangement could not be assented to by Europe.

“ It was true that in the treaty Her Majesty's Government agreed to a term ; but they insisted upon inserting a clause to

the effect that England might return to Egypt without the assent of Turkey or Europe.

"It was therefore not only a criminal but a most stupid course to try and force the hand of the Sultan and induce him to sign the Convention, knowing that by so doing we would alienate France, and that the Convention would become the law of Europe without the consent of France and Russia, both of whom had protested against it in the strongest manner.

"We had abolished representative Government in Egypt, and had not sought to build it up again.

"We had put ourselves in the wrong with Egypt, and had established a permanent sore with France. We had created an ill-feeling with Turkey, and no one believed for a moment what we said when we asserted that we were anxious to leave the country, and were only remaining there for the good of the Egyptians.

"We knew how angry Europe was at the time that a treaty respecting Cyprus was negotiated by Lord Salisbury. The House would also remember how indignant the people of England had been frequently when they thought that Russia was endeavouring to carry on diplomatic action in secret. This Convention was not secret, it was true, but if Turkey had not informed France and Russia of what was going on, those countries would have known nothing about the matter."

Mr. Labouchere further stated :—

"I wish to call attention to one or two statements made by Lord Salisbury in the despatches as to our future policy. Writing to Sir H. Wolff, Lord Salisbury had said :—

"Her Majesty's Government have no intention of leaving Egypt without ample security that the social order which they have re-established there shall not be endangered either by external attack or internal trouble. Whether the Convention be ratified or not, they will adhere to that intention."

"This practically meant that if Turkey did not sign the Convention we intended to remain in Egypt for ever. England had not organised the Egyptian army. How, then, could the Government say that they would only leave Egypt when that country was preserved by the Egyptian army from internal

danger? On June 4 Lord Salisbury made a further statement which was of importance. He said: 'Should the Porte refuse to ratify on the appointed day, Her Majesty's Government will be freed from their engagements to the Porte in regard to Egypt, and will remain free to take their own course.' What did this mean? He did not understand how the mere fact of the Sultan objecting to this treaty freed England from previous engagements. If this were so, nothing would be more easy than to free ourselves from any treaty in any country, and especially a country weaker than ourselves."

Sir George Campbell observed that:—

"If we were at liberty to establish a protectorate over Egypt, and it was expedient to do so, he would not have a word to say against the Convention. He thought it was a very good Convention, and was probably the best and cheapest way of establishing a protectorate. It was impossible, owing to our obligations, to establish a protectorate in Egypt. He was lost in amazement, however, that the Government should expect the French Government to accept a Convention which was opposed to all their interests and our declarations. He believed the Government were remaining in Egypt until conditions were fulfilled which he believed to be impossible of fulfilment. He really did not see that the Government were trying honestly to bring about the conclusion of the present state of things. The direction in which we could get out of that Egyptian imbroglio lay in restoring that true understanding and *entente cordiale* with France which had been so rudely and unfortunately interrupted by our policy in Egypt. He regretted, but was hardly surprised, that the French should try to play on a small scale in the New Hebrides the same game as we were playing in Egypt, saying that they went there to establish order and a millennium, and would stay there until their work was accomplished. The French people, however, were unwilling to support their Government in foreign adventures which might lead to war; and he thought that if France was now approached in a friendly spirit, both sides agreeing to let bygones be bygones, an arrangement might be come to with her by which a real

autonomous Government would be established in Egypt, with great advantage both to that country itself and to Europe.

Dr. Clark said :—

“The House was told that our object in remaining in Egypt was to secure the Canal for all nations. But that had been done already. The only Power who had weakened the effect of former Firmans was Great Britain. During the Franco-German war and the Russo-Turkish war each of those Powers respected the neutrality of the Canal, but during the Egyptian Expedition Great Britain broke the international law. Why were the Government going to remain in Egypt? It seemed to him, judging from the words of Lord Salisbury and from other declarations, that the Government were trying to repudiate the self-denying ordinance of the past. If the Government did not leave Egypt now, when it was quiet, they would never leave it at all, and they would remain there under false pretences.”

Mr. Dillon remarked :—

“The language of France and Russia to Turkey was exceedingly plain ; and where, he asked, was there an instance of a single word of insult or menace used against England, except perhaps towards the conclusion of the negotiations, where France was spoken of as being the only protector of the Sultan against the ambitious designs of England in Egypt ; and that was after a considerable period, during which England intimated plainly that she was determined to go on with the Convention in spite of the objections of France, and put pressure on Turkey to make her agree to it. Any declaration on the part of this country of an intention permanently to occupy or annex Egypt would amount to a declaration of war against France. He had no animosity to the German nation, but he thought it was an ill-advised thing to be always dragging the German Ambassador into this question of backing up England. Of course he backed up England because the object was to sow discord between England and France. The longer the occupation of Egypt was prolonged, the longer it was sure to last. The people of England were anxious to see the last soldier out of Egypt, but there were men interested in financial business who hoodwinked

the people, and who would not leave Egypt alone until the last pound had been paid. Lord Salisbury had said that when in future we were asked to answer the annoying and perpetual demands of France and Turkey for the evacuation of Egypt we should point to the non-signature of the ratification of the Convention as releasing us from all our previous declarations in regard to Egypt. Now, he would ask the Government to put their finger on any fact which had set them free from the pledges which had been made over and over again in that House and in official documents in reference to the evacuation of Egypt. The Convention was the result of negotiations conducted between our representative and the Porte behind the back of Europe ; and one of the conditions in it was that it was not to come into operation until all the Great Powers had signed it. The conduct of the French Government towards ours had been courteous, honest, and frank, and the moment they knew what was the nature of the Convention they said in firm and courteous language that they could not assent to it."

As I have already stated, I have merely drawn attention to the above observations to point out that there is at the present moment a strong element in England which understands the importance of settling at once the Egyptian question in a way which will be for the benefit of England and Egypt, as well as that of the Ottoman Government, and, at the same time, which is desirous to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the Great Powers.

The following resolution was submitted in a public conference held by the International Arbitration and Peace Association on the 18th

of August last, several Members of Parliament attending. It was resolved :—

“That those present at this Conference do hereby record their opinion that, for the preservation of European peace, and for the honour of England, it is necessary that a term should now be definitely fixed for the military occupation of Egypt ; and that the said term of occupation should, under no circumstances, continue beyond two years from the present time.

“That Her Majesty’s Government should be called upon to convoke a European Congress of all the Powers, without distinction, to which it shall submit suggestions for the future transfer of the administration of Egypt to its own people, under such conditions as may secure the preservation of order and public security.

“That Great Britain shall exercise her influence at such Conference to promote a solemn International Treaty, declaring the permanent independence, inviolability, and neutrality of Egypt, the existing rights of the Sublime Porte (as Suzerain) now in force being reserved.

“That the British Government submit to such Conference a Declaration, to be signed by the Powers, to the effect that, should any European Power attempt to violate the above conditions, the other Powers shall at once meet for the purpose of formally protesting against such an act as a breach of International Law.

“Resolved, further : That the British Government be requested to come to an early agreement with the Powers, in reference to the Treaties drafted by the Commissioners who met at Paris in 1885, to provide for the future inviolability of the Suez Canal, which should be placed under the supervision of a joint Commission of the representatives of all the Powers, and under the joint presidency of a Commissioner of the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

“Resolved, further : That it is highly necessary, in justice to the people of Egypt, that the system of ‘Capitulations’ should be replaced by Courts, which shall not give to foreign residents undue privileges and exemptions.”

CONCLUSION.

FROM what I have stated I may now draw the following conclusions :—

(1) That England, as a Christian Power in Europe and a Mohammedan one in Asia, should endeavour to ameliorate her relations with the Mohammedan Powers in general, and with the Ottoman Government in particular, in order to avoid this Power being, one day, an ally to Russia. Such an alliance would be fatal to the interests of Great Britain in Asia.

(2) That no real friendship can be established between Turkey and England unless the Egyptian matters are satisfactorily settled to the interests of all parties concerned. The financial affairs of Egypt would, of course, remain uninterfered with.

(3) That the Egyptian question should be settled as soon as possible in such a way as to soothe the *amour propre* of the Egyptians, by allowing the Mohammedan element to be more

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fully represented in the Government, as well as in the administration of the country, which is now too much composed of foreigners.

(4) That in no manner whatever should a foreign element interfere with the prerogatives and privileges of the Mohammedan religion and laws in Egypt.

(5) A special Commission should be instituted in Cairo, composed of Egyptians of all parties jointly with some English members, in order to hear the complaints of all civil and military functionaries who have serious grievances against the actual Government.

As is clearly explained, the above conditions would not in any manner interfere with the interests of the English Egyptian bondholders, which is one of the important points of the Egyptian question. On the contrary, the privileges of the financiers will remain intact, which will give great satisfaction to the country. Egypt will then enter into a phase of tranquillity. The Sultan would be satisfied, as would also be his faithful Mohammedan subjects, and a favourable impression would be created in the minds of Islam, which would be well received even in India, and more

especially in Hyderabad, that vast Moham-
medan kingdom which, no doubt, has the
strongest sympathy for the welfare of Turkey
and Egypt, and all other Mohammedan
countries.

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APPENDIX.

THE FIRST EGYPTIAN CONVENTION.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN AND
HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE SULTAN OF TURKEY
RELATIVE TO EGYPTIAN AFFAIRS. SIGNED AT CON-
STANTINOPLE, OCTOBER 24, 1885. (RATIFICATIONS
EXCHANGED NOVEMBER 24, 1885.)

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, having agreed to send Commissioners Extraordinary to Egypt with a view to the settlement of Egyptian affairs, have resolved to conclude a Convention, and have named as their Plenipotentiaries for this purpose :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, the Right Honourable Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, a member of Her Britannic Majesty's Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Member of Parliament, and her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on a Special Mission having particular reference to the affairs of Egypt ;

And His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Méhemmed Saïd Pasha, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Osmanié in brilliants, and the Grand Cordon of the Medjidié ; who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles, adopted upon the basis and within the limits of the Imperial Firmans now in force :—

ARTICLE I.

Her Britannic Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will respectively send a High Commissioner to Egypt.

ARTICLE II.

The Ottoman High Commissioner will consult with His Highness the Khedive, or with the functionary who shall be designated for that purpose by His Highness, upon the best means for tranquillising the Soudan by pacific measures.

The Ottoman High Commissioner and His Highness the Khedive will keep the English High Commissioner currently informed of the negotiations, and as the measures to be decided upon form part of the general settlement of Egyptian affairs, they shall be adopted and placed in execution in agreement with the English High Commissioner.

ARTICLE III.

The two High Commissioners will reorganise, in concert with His Highness the Khedive, the Egyptian army.

ARTICLE IV.

The two High Commissioners, in concert with His Highness the Khedive, will examine all the branches of the Egyptian Administration, and may introduce into them the modifications which they may consider necessary within the limits of the Imperial Firmans.

ARTICLE V.

The international engagements contracted by His Highness the Khedive will be approved by the Ottoman Government in so far as they shall not be contrary to the privileges granted by the Imperial Firmans.

ARTICLE VI.

So soon as the two High Commissioners shall have established that the security of the frontiers and the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government are assured, they shall present a report to their respective Governments, who will consult as to the conclusion of a Convention regulating the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt in a convenient period.

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ARTICLE VII.

The present Convention shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Constantinople within the space of fifteen days, or sooner if possible.

In faith of which the two Plenipotentiaries have affixed their signatures to it and the seal of their arms.

Done at Constantinople, the twenty-fourth day of the month of October, of the year eighteen hundred and eighty-five.

(L.S.) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

(L.S.) SAÏD.

In proceeding to the signature of the Convention dated this day, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Turkey declare that the French text shall be binding.

Done in duplicate, the 24th day of October, 1885.

(L.S.) (Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

(L.S.) (Signed) SAÏD.

THE SECOND EGYPTIAN CONVENTION.

CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND TURKEY
RESPECTING EGYPT. SIGNED AT CONSTANTINOPLE,
MAY 22, 1887.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, having, in accordance with the stipulations of the Convention concluded at Constantinople on the 24th of October, 1885, respectively sent a High Commissioner to Egypt, and the said High Commissioners having reported to their respective Governments, their Majesties have now resolved to conclude an ulterior Convention in conformity with the objects set forth in the aforesaid Convention.

To this effect their Majesties have named as their Plenipotentiaries :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, the Right Hon. Sir

Henry Drummond Wolff, a member of Her Britannic Majesty's Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on a special mission, having particular reference to the affairs of Egypt ;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Méhemmed Kiamil Pacha, his Grand Vizier, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Imtiaz, with the Grand Cordon of the Osmanié in brilliants, of the Medjidié, and of several foreign Orders ; and Méhemmed Saïd Pasha, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Grand Cordon of the Imperial Order of the Osmanié in brilliants, of the Medjidié, and of several foreign Orders ;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

The Imperial Firmans at present in force in Egypt are confirmed, except in so far as they may be modified by the present Convention.

ARTICLE II.

The Khedivate of Egypt comprises the territories set forth in the Imperial Firmans concerning Egypt.

ARTICLE III.

The Imperial Ottoman Government will invite the Powers parties to the Treaty of Berlin to approve a Convention for better securing the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal.

By such Convention the Imperial Ottoman Government will declare that this maritime Canal shall be always free and open, whether in time of peace or of war, for ships of war and merchant vessels passing from one sea to the other, without distinction of flag, on payment of the dues and in conformity with the regulations actually in force, or with those which may hereafter be promulgated by the competent administration.

The Convention shall provide that the Great Powers shall

undertake on their side never to impede the free passage of the Canal in time of war, and to respect the property and establishments belonging to the Canal.

It shall also provide that the Canal shall never be subjected to blockade, and that no right of war or act of hostility shall be exercised either within the Canal or within a radius of three marine miles from the ports of Suez and Port Said.

It shall also be laid down that the Diplomatic Agents of the signatory Powers in Egypt shall watch over the execution of the Convention whenever circumstances may arise of a nature to threaten the safety or freedom of passage of the Canal ; that these Agents shall assemble when convened by one of their body, under the presidency of the Special Commissioner named for that purpose by the Sublime Porte or by the Khedive, in order to verify and record the cases of danger, and they shall inform the Egyptian Government thereof, in order that it may adopt proper measures to ensure the protection and free passage of the Canal ; that in any case they shall assemble once a year, in order to record that the Convention has been duly observed.

It shall, moreover, be provided that no obstacle can be placed in the way of any measures which may be necessary for the defence of Egypt and the security of the Canal, and, finally, that the two high contracting parties shall also invite the other Powers to adhere thereto in the same manner as the Powers parties to the above-mentioned Convention.

ARTICLE IV.

Inasmuch as the abnormal state of the Soudan and the troubles caused by political events in Egypt may for some time render necessary the adoption of ordinary precautions for the safety of the frontiers and the internal security of Egypt, Her Britannic Majesty's Government will superintend the military defence and organisation of the country.

For this purpose it will maintain in Egypt the number of British troops it may consider necessary, and will continue to exercise a general inspection of the Egyptian Army.

The conditions concerning the withdrawal of British troops, and the cessation of all supervision exercised by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty over the Egyptian Army, shall

be fulfilled in conformity with the stipulations of Article V. of the present Convention.

ARTICLE V.

At the expiration of three years from the date of the present Convention, Her Britannic Majesty's Government will withdraw its troops from Egypt. If at that period the appearance of danger, in the interior or from without, should render necessary the adjournment of the evacuation, the British troops will withdraw from Egypt immediately after the disappearance of this danger, and two years after the aforesaid evacuation the provisions of Article IV. above shall completely cease to have effect.

On the withdrawal of the British troops, Egypt shall enjoy the advantages of the principle of territorial immunity (*sûreté territoriale*), and on the ratification of the present Convention the Great Powers shall be invited to sign an Act recognising and guaranteeing the inviolability of Egyptian territory.

Under such Act no Power shall have the right, under any circumstance, to land troops on Egyptian territory except in the cases provided for in the regulations annexed to the present Convention.

Nevertheless, the Imperial Ottoman Government will make use of its right of occupying Egypt militarily if there are reasons to fear an invasion from without, or if order and security in the interior were disturbed, or if the Khedivate of Egypt refused to execute its duties towards the Sovereign Court, or its international obligations.

On its side, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty is authorised by this Convention to send, in the above-mentioned cases, troops into Egypt, which will take the measures necessary to remove these dangers. In taking these measures the commanders of these troops will act with all the regard due to the rights of the Sovereign Powers.

The Ottoman troops, as well as the British troops, will be withdrawn from Egypt as soon as the cause requiring this intervention shall have ceased.

If, by reason of hindrances, the Ottoman Government should not send troops to Egypt, it will send a Commissioner to remain

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during the period of the sojourn of the British troops with their commander.

Whenever the two States may consider it necessary to send troops into Egypt, they will notify the circumstance one to the other, and will act in conformity with the present Convention.

ARTICLE VI.

When the present Convention shall have been ratified, the two high contracting parties shall notify the fact in the first instance to the Powers parties to the Treaty of Berlin, and subsequently to the other Governments who have made or accepted arrangements with the Khedivate of Egypt, inviting them to give to it their adhesion.

ARTICLE VII.

The present Convention shall be ratified and the ratification shall be exchanged at Constantinople within one month from the date of the signature of this Act, or sooner if possible.

In faith of which the Plenipotentiaries have signed this Act and affixed to it the seal of their arms.

Done in duplicate at Constantinople, the 22nd day of the month of May of the year 1887.

(L.S.)	H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.
(L.S.)	M. KIAMIL.
(L.S.)	M. SAÏD.

The following "regulations" are annexed to the Convention :—

If, owing to any circumstance, the navigation of the Suez Canal should be obstructed, the Powers who shall have adhered to the Convention concluded to-day between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire shall have the right of sending across Egyptian territory the troops which they may require to despatch from one sea to the other.

2. Nevertheless, none of these Powers shall in such case keep more than 1,000 men at one and the same time upon Egyptian soil ; and the passage of these troops shall be effected by the most rapid means and route.

3. Whenever one of these Powers shall avail itself of this right, it shall, through its Consul, notify the fact 24 hours

beforehand to the Governor of the port where the disembarkation is to take place, and the latter shall superintend and control the passage of the troops.

H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

M. KIAMIL.

M. SAÏD.

In proceeding to the signature of the Convention of this day, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Turkey declare that the French text shall be the authoritative one. Executed in duplicate the 22nd day of the month of May of the year 1887.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

M. KIAMIL.

M. SAÏD.

ANNEX I.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *May 22, 1887.*

M.M. LES PLÉNIPOTENTIAIRES,

It is understood that if at the expiration of the three years stipulated in the Convention of this day, for the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt, one of the Great Mediterranean Powers shall not have accepted it, Her Britannic Majesty's Government would consider this refusal as the appearance of a danger from without, provided against by Article V. of the Convention, and the means of executing the aforesaid Convention shall be again discussed and settled between the Imperial Ottoman Government and Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

I avail, &c.,

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

His Highness Kiamil Pasha, Grand Vizier ;

His Excellency Saïd Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

ANNEX II.

SUBLIME PORTE,

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

May 22, 1887.

M. LE PLÉNIPOTENTIAIRE,

We have had the honour of receiving the note which your Excellency was good enough to address to us to-day in the following terms :—

"It is understood that if at the expiration of the three years stipulated in the Convention of this day for the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt, one of the Great Mediterranean Powers shall not have accepted it, Her Britannic Majesty's Government would consider this refusal as the appearance of a danger from without, provided for by Article V. of the Convention, and the means of executing the aforesaid Convention shall be again discussed and settled between the Imperial Ottoman Government and Her Britannic Majesty's Government."

In taking note of this declaration, we avail ourselves, &c.

(Signed) M. KIAMIL.

M. SAÏD.

His Excellency Sir H. Drummond Wolff, &c., &c., &c.

ANNEX III.

(PROTOCOL.)

Considering that the capitulations and the usages and customs in force in Egypt, by exempting foreign criminals from the territorial jurisdiction, weaken the authority of the Egyptian Government, and render the maintenance of order difficult, to the detriment not only of the natives, but also of foreigners residing in Egypt, it is understood that, within a month from the date of the ratification of the Convention signed to-day, Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan shall jointly invite the European Powers who have adhered to the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals in Egypt to consider by what means the subjects of their several countries might be brought under a local and uniform jurisdiction and legislation, due account being at the same time taken of their privileges.

With the same object, the two Governments will submit to the Powers the necessity of establishing a system whereby foreign subjects residing in Egypt shall be called upon to contribute in an equitable manner to the taxes of the country.

Executed in duplicate the 22nd day of the month of May in the year 1887.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

M. KIAMIL.

M. SAÏD.

ANNEX IV.
(PROTOCOL.)

It is understood between the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty and of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, that the two Governments shall jointly submit to the Powers, proposals for the amelioration of the Administrations of the Domains, the Daira Sanieh, and the railways. They will submit to them also proposals for defining the powers of the Caisse of the Public Debt, and for regulating the finances of Egypt. Proposals also relating to the Press and quarantine, and to the best method of facilitating the legislation applicable to foreigners will be drawn up.

The Powers will also be invited to declare that the tribute payable annually by Egypt to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, amounting to £T.750,000, shall constitute the first charge upon the Egyptian Treasury.

Executed in duplicate the 22nd day of the month of May in the year 1887.

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.
M. KIAMIL.
M. SAÏD.

ANNEX V.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *May 22, 1887.*

MM. LES PLÉNIPOTENTIAIRES,

With reference to that part of the Protocol signed to-day, which relates to the financial arrangements to be carried out in Egypt, I have the honour to inform you that Her Britannic Majesty's Government cannot admit of any alteration in the powers of the Financial Adviser of the Egyptian Government, who, by his position and the functions which he exercises, offers an indispensable guarantee for the good administration of the Egyptian finances and the interests of the creditors of that country.

I avail, &c.,

(Signed) H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

His Highness Kiamil Pasha, Grand Vizier ;
His Excellency Saïd Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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ANNEX VI.

SUBLIME PORTE,
MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
May 22, 1887.

M. LE PLÉNIPOTENTIAIRE,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of to-day's date, relating to the powers of the Financial Adviser of the Egyptian Government.

We beg, &c.,

(Signed)

M. KIAMIL.

M. SAÏD.

His Excellency Sir H. Drummond Wolff,
&c., &c., &c.

TURKISH LOANS SECURED BY THE EGYPTIAN TRIBUTE.

THE LOAN OF 1854.

£3,000,000.—Six per cent. bonds of £1,000, £500, £100, and £50, issued in 1854 at 80 per cent., with coupons payable April 10 and October 10, and redeemable (originally) by 1889 by yearly drawings in July from an accumulative sinking fund of 1 per cent. per annum. The loan is secured upon the tribute paid to the Porte by the Khedive of Egypt. As from October, 1887, it was agreed to reduce the interest to 5 per cent., and the sinking fund to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the £1,771,950 bonds then outstanding, these modified terms are agreed to. Amount outstanding, £1,701,100. All payments are made by Messrs. Dent, Palmer & Co., 72, Gresham House, E.C.

THE LOAN OF 1855.

£5,000,000.—Four per cent. bonds of £1,000, £500, and £100, issued in 1855 at 102 $\frac{1}{2}$ under the guarantee, as regards the interest, of the English and French Governments, and secured upon the balance of the

Egyptian tribute, after the service of the foregoing loan, and also upon the customs duties of Smyrna and Syria. The coupons are paid February 1 and August 1 at the Bank of England, and the bonds are redeemable by 1900 by drawings in May from an accumulative sinking fund of 1 per cent. per annum. Bonds to the amount of £97,600 were drawn for repayment in August, 1876, £101,300 in 1877, £105,300 in 1878, £109,600 in 1879, £113,900 in 1880, £118,500 in 1881, £123,200 in 1882, £128,200 in 1883, £133,300 in 1884, £138,600 in 1885, and £144,200 in 1886, but they have not been met—leaving £2,501,700 undrawn. The interest is, however, regularly paid on these drawn bonds, and such drawn bonds are therefore a “good delivery” in Stock Exchange transactions.

THE LOAN OF 1871.

£5,700,000.—Six per cent. bonds of £1,000, £500, £100, and £20, issued in 1871 at 73 per cent., with coupons payable April 10 and October 10, and redeemable by 1905 by drawings in July from an accumulative sinking fund of 1 per cent. per annum. The loan is secured upon that portion of the Egyptian tribute not appropriated to the 1854 and 1855 loans. It has been agreed that, as from October, 1877, the interest shall be $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and that the sinking fund shall be suspended until the 1854 loan is paid off, when the £99,511 devoted to that loan shall be applied to redeeming these bonds, these modified terms are adhered to. The amount outstanding is £5,378,700. Payments are made by Messrs. Dent, Palmer & Co., 72, Gresham House, E.C.

THE LOAN OF 1877 (KNOWN AS DEFENCE).

£5,000,000.—Five per cent. bonds of £1,000, £500, £100, £50, £20, and £10, issued in December, 1877, as the Ottoman Defence Loan. Coupons are payable April 10 and October 10 by Messrs. Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co., 67, Lombard-street, E.C. The issue price was 52

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per cent., and the loan is secured upon the surplus of the Egyptian tribute originally hypothecated to the 1854 and 1871 loans. Redemption is to be made by purchases when the price is under par, and by drawings when at or above par, from an accumulative sinking fund of £12,500 each half-year. Amount outstanding, £4,609,700.

PROCLAMATION

OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE SULTAN, DECLARING
ARABI PACHA A REBEL. DATED SEPTEMBER 5, 1882.

"It is known to all that Imperial Firmans delivered by the Caliph have invested Mehemet Tewfik with the Khediviat of Egypt. His Highness is, therefore, the Sultan's representative, invested with full powers of Imperial Government in the administration of Egypt. Consequently any resistance to his orders, and any line of conduct contrary to his, will impose grave responsibility. Arabi, in violating the solemn dispositions of the law, has been guilty of attacking a Government institution; has been a disturber of the peace and public security; has caused death and irrevocable ruin to a host of people; and, finally, has provoked the intervention of foreign Powers. As for the bombardment of Alexandria, which England, a constant friend of the Imperial Government, was constrained to undertake, it was the fortification of works and increase of cannon in the batteries which inspired distrust and which were regarded as a menace and aggression against the English fleet anchored in the port. Many times the Imperial Government reiterated its orders to Arabi to stop armaments, so as not to provoke hostilities from the British fleet. It demonstrated by unanswerable proofs, aided by reasonable and paternal advice, the innumerable dangers which might result from conduct opposed to the views of the Government. But Arabi refused to act according to its advice and orders. Attempts have been made to represent the combat in the harbour of Alexandria as the result of a legitimate sentiment of self-defence on the part of the Egyptian army, but in reality Arabi had no other intention than to destroy the town and raise the inhabitants of Egypt one

against the other, in order to give free scope to projects of personal ambition. This is fully proved by his conduct. Were it otherwise, he ought to have avoided all measures likely to expose Alexandria to attacks from the English fleet ; he ought to have obeyed the orders that were given, and the prescriptions of the sacred law. Then he would not have caused, for the success of personal and selfish prospects, the torrent of innocent blood which has flowed, and he would not have imposed on the Imperial Government these complications which necessarily result from the military intervention of a foreign Power in Egypt. By surrounding a second time the Khedive's palace at the time of the bombardment in Alexandria, he caused the English Admiral to land troops for the protection of His Highness—an incident which was a prelude to military intervention.

"The Imperial Government had sent to Egypt a Commission composed of Dervish Pacha, Essad Effendi, Lebib Effendi, and Kadri Effendi, to induce Arabi to come to Constantinople, to induce him to abandon the line of conduct which he had adopted, and finally, to solve the Egyptian question so as not to give occasion for foreign intervention. The Commissioners were to explain to Arabi and his partisans that their conduct was thoughtless and illegal, that it caused great injury to the Imperial Government, and that if they persisted in it the Government would be obliged to employ force. They used with Arabi all possible arguments and considerations drawn from sacred law and from the necessities of the time. Arabi not only showed no inclination to obey, but he replied openly that he would continue in the way he had chosen, that he would resist by force of arms any one, foreign or otherwise, who would venture to invade Egyptian territory, and that even the Imperial Ottoman troops would find no other reception. These declarations of Arabi are fully related in the official report of the Commissioners.

"It is unnecessary to explain and prove the illegality and gravity of the resolution of Arabi to retire to Cairo and form there a government in opposition to the legal government of the country, but it is evident that so long as Arabi and his partisans still persist in their present attitude, in seeking to authorise their acts with a semblance of legality and in dissimulating their pernicious intentions, thus seeking to win over the people by the

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attraction of false promises, England will find herself obliged, in order to maintain her military position, to augment her forces in proportion to the opposition which is offered her. As a natural consequence of this state of things, the Ottoman Empire finds the political difficulties with which it is surrounded greatly increased without the possibility of any benefit resulting to Egypt. On the contrary, the actual situation cannot but prove prejudicial to an important province forming an integral part of Ottoman territory, without counting the many difficulties thereby created in the Imperial relations with other Powers. The acts of which Arabi has been guilty, and the full responsibility of which weighs upon him, more particularly his insane declarations of opposing Ottoman troops with armed resistance, are acts which call for the severest penalties.

"Nevertheless, taking into consideration that Arabi implored the grace and pardon of his Sovereign, and that he had repeated the assurance previously given in the name of the Egyptian Army to Dervish Pasha, which was then published by his request touching his obedience to the Sultan, and the renewal of the bonds of fidelity and subordination towards the Khedive, declarations which were then taken into general consideration, and procured for Arabi the decoration of the Order of Osmanié upon the proposition of Dervish Pasha, with the object of inspiring him with greater confidence, and of persuading him to continue in submission and fidelity—Arabi has, notwithstanding all this, not hesitated to despise his Sovereign's clemency and magnanimity; he unlawfully persists in rebellious designs, and has finally declared himself a rebel.

"The result of this situation and of his conduct herein set forth is that he ought naturally to be treated according to his own words and acts as an insurgent and rebel. It is necessary to preserve the Khedive's high prerogatives which are assured him by Imperial Firmans. The conduct that Arabi has ventured to hold in this respect is altogether contrary to the views of the Imperial Government.

"Consequently it is hereby notified to the public that Arabi Pasha, by his conduct, has merited the name of rebel, and that the State is fully determined to maintain the power and privilege of His Highness the Khedive."

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